



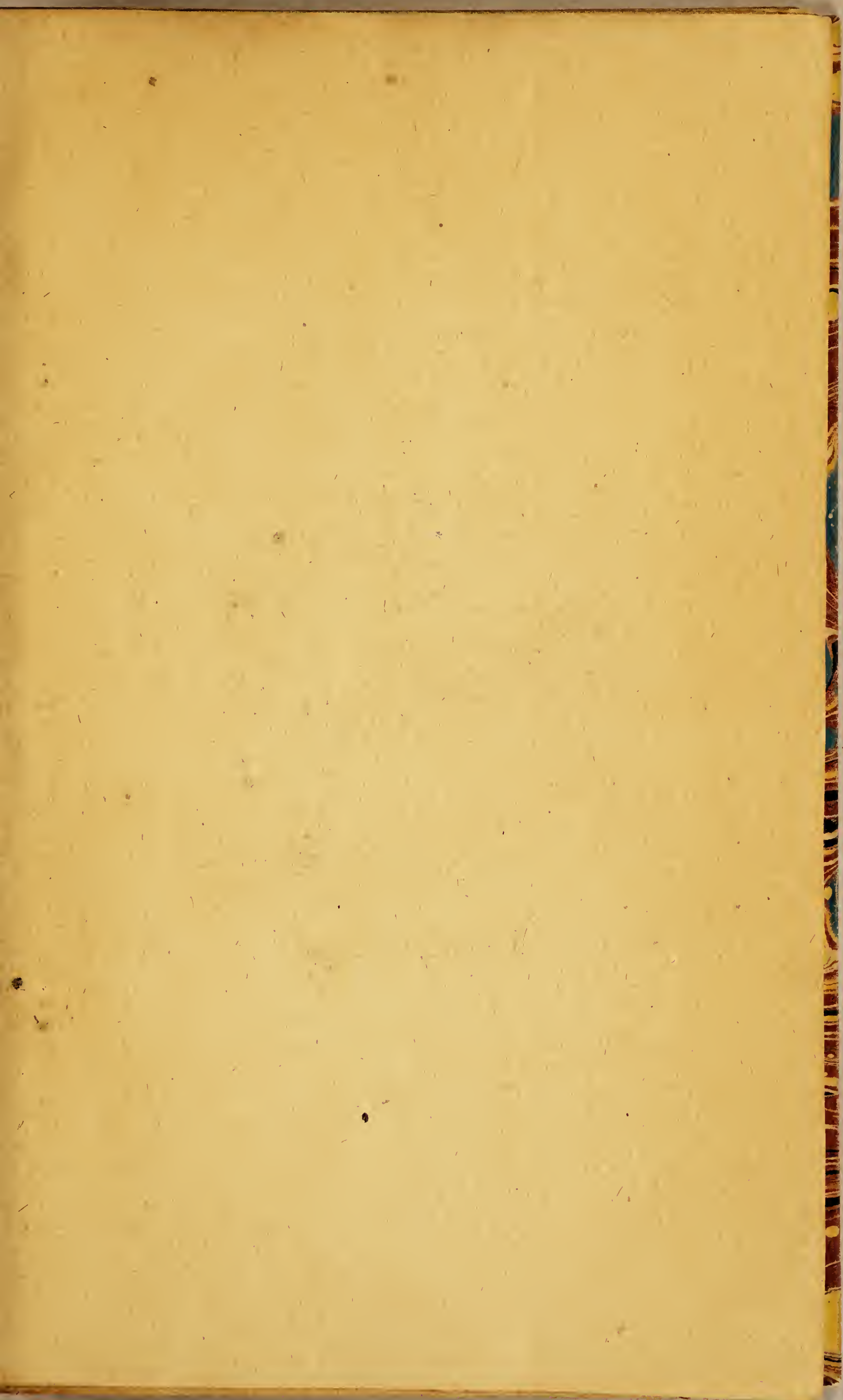


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John Carter Brown.







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1703 A 531  
Second ADDRESS

TO THE

MEMBERS.

OF THE

*Episcopal Separation in New-England.*

OCCASIONED

By the Exceptions made to the *former*,  
by Dr. *Johnson*, Mr. *Wetmore*, Mr.  
*Beach*, and Mr. *Caner*.

To which is added, by Way of APPENDIX,

A LETTER from Mr. *Dickinson* in  
Answer to some Things Mr. *Wetmore*  
has charged him with.

---

By *Noah Hobart, A. M.*

Pastor of a Church of CHRIST in *Fairfield*.

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Psalms cxli. 5. *Let the Righteous smite me, it shall be a Kindness.*

Prov. xxvii. 6. *Faithful are the Wounds of a Friend.*

*esteem an Endeavour to set a Man right in Religious Opinions,  
which we ourselves apprehend to be important, the second Office of  
Christian Friendship, as that of attempting to reform his Morals is  
undoubtedly the First.*

DODDRIDGE.

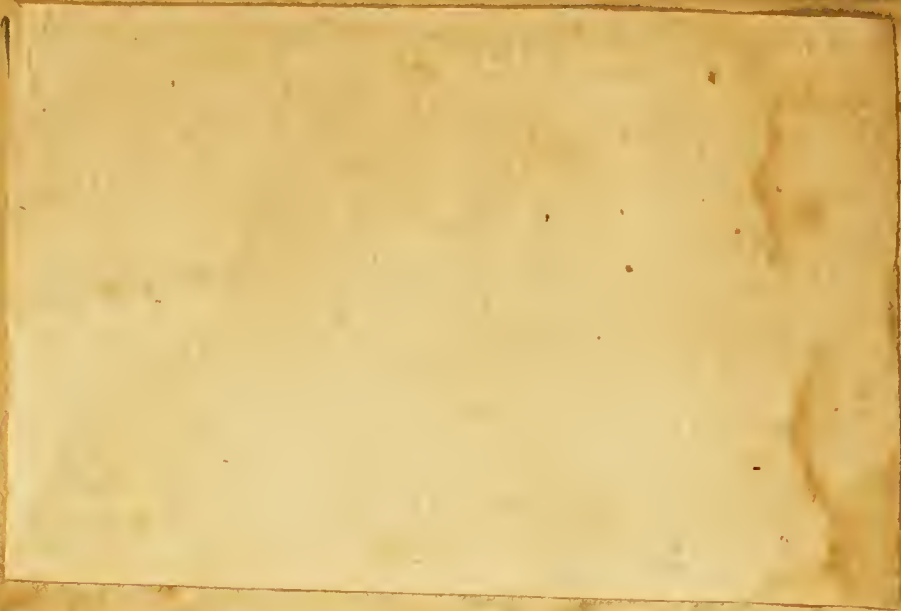
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B O S T O N :

Printed and Sold by D. FOWLE in *Queen-Street*, 1751.



52.57



JOHN CARTER BLANN







TO THE  
MEMBERS  
OF THE  
*Episcopal* Separation  
in *New-England*.

*My Brethren,*

**R**ELIGIOUS Controversies are not in themselves desirable, and they are too often attended with bad Effects ; but these Effects are accidental, and proceed rather from a vicious Way of controverting, than from the Nature of Controversy : And it is no doubt true, that a Controversy may be so managed as to do very great Service to Religion, without producing any ill Effects at all, or at least so as that the accidental bad Consequences shall in no Measure ballance the good it does ; and so it shall prove, on the whole, a real Service to Religion. It certainly is, in some Circumstances, a necessary Part of a Minister's Duty to write upon Controversy, and even to *contend earnestly for the Faith*. And when Providence places him in such Circumstances, neither the Disagreeableness of it to his Temper, nor the Possibility of it's accidentally producing some undesirable Effects, will excuse him in neglecting it. As therefore, on the one Hand, I would be far from setting my self up for the Head of a Party, or acting as though I had assumed the Province of *taking up the Conqueror*, by thrusting my self into the Controversy, when the Man that began it was either convinced or confuted, and



and would not be persuaded to write any more ; by which Practice one of your Advocates has of late rendered himself famous : so neither, on the other Hand, would I “ set that up for my Motto, *Answer them not again,*” since in that Case Mr. *Beach* tells me he should conclude, that I *suspected my own Cause was bad*, and was *half convinced that I was in an Error*.

It has pleased the *Lord of the Harvest* to assign my particular Station in his Field, in the midst of the Episcopal Separation. For, though the Progress of it has not been in any Degree equal to the Reports that have been spread abroad ; yet I suppose it has prevailed more in the County of *Fairfield* than in any other Part of *New-England*. As I first entered on the Study of Divinity, at a Time when this Controversy ran high, on Account of Dr. *Cutler* and Company’s going for Orders, it concerned me to look into it, so far as was necessary to settle my own Principles and Conduct : And as I did not settle young in the Ministry, I had Opportunity and some Advantages for doing this the more thoroughly. The Result of which was, that I engaged in the Ministry under a Persuasion, not only that our Cause was in itself just and righteous, but also that the Principles and Practices of our Churches were best adapted to promote the great Design of the Gospel, the Recovery of fallen Man to the Favour, and Likeness, and Enjoyment of God. I have now spent seventeen Years in the Ministry in this Place, and the Effect of so long Study and Observation is, that what before was but Persuasion, is now confirmed by Experience, and grown up to the fullest Conviction.

Under a full Conviction that your Separation is unjustifiable in itself, and in its Effects very hurtful to the Country, and to the Cause of practical Religion in it, and that it will, if it prevails, prove pernicious to our Posterity ; I could not tell how to reconcile my being wholly silent in the Case, to the Character I desire to maintain, that of a Friend to the Interests of Religion, the Welfare of my Country, and your Happiness. Especially when



when I saw that your Separation was supported by Money, which I look'd upon as devoted to God for the Propagation of the Gospel of his Son, and which, had it been rightly applied, might have been effectual to recover to a Sense of Religion those *British* Colonies that are abandoned to Atheism and Irreligion; and have done a great deal towards enlarging the Redeemer's Kingdom, by bringing the Heathen Nations bordering on us, into it.

It was under this Sense of Things, and with a View to promote these Designs, that I published my late *serious ADDRESS to you*. What Prospect there was of my prevailing with any Number of you, to return from a Separation of so pernicious a Nature, perhaps the Gentlemen who have undertaken your Defence were under better Advantages to know, than I am. And if they had no Apprehensions of this Kind, I can hardly think they would have raised their whole *Posse*, and managed as though they were fighting *pro Aris & Focis*. I can't but entertain so much Charity for these Gentlemen, as to think that mere Resentment for what I had done, if there had been no Appearance of its having any abiding Effects hurtful to their Cause, would not have carried them so far as to take the unwearied Pains, and use the unjustifiable Means they have done, to blacken my moral Character, and prejudice you against my Person, as well as my Cause.

The Hurry to have my Piece answered was so very great, that Mr. *Wetmore*, like a wise Man, published what he called a *Rejoinder* to it, before he had ever seen it. And when it was found that this did not satisfy you, another Piece is published under the Title of a *calm and dispassionate VINDICATION of the Professors of the Church of England*, written by Mr. *Beach*. Dr. *Johnson* has thought proper to write a *Preface*, and Mr. *Wetmore* and Mr. *Caner* each of them an *Appendix* to it. And the three last Gentlemen have entered into the Merits of the Cause, and written, either upon those Branches of the Controversy which Mr. *Beach* had omitted, or perhaps on those



those upon which they thought he had wrote so weakly as to need their Assistance. And, as if all this were not enough, I am well assured Mr. *Wetmore* has another Answer in Manuscript, which he carries about in his Pocket, and reads whenever he can find Company idle enough to hear it.

Mr. *Wetmore* will allow me to understand the Publication of Mr. *Beach's Vindication*, as an Acknowledgment that his *Rejoinder* was nothing to the Purpose, and so needs no Answer; though he will hardly consent that I should interpret Mr. *Beach's* taking up the Controversy, as a Confession that *he* was unable to carry it on. And I hope he will be so good as to allow me to take Warning by his Misfortune, and therefore not expect that I should reply to his *Manuscript* Answer, which I have not seen.

Mr. *Beach* would, it seems, have *his Vindication* distinguished from the *Vindication* Mr. *Wetmore* formerly Publish'd, by the Epithets of CALM and DISPASSIONATE. And I don't wonder that he looked upon Mr. *Wetmore's* as a ROUGH and ANGRY Piece; I only wish Mr. *Beach* had been careful to have wrote up to his Title: Then indeed it would have been a very different Piece from Mr. *Wetmore's*; and might have been some Credit to its Author, and the Cause it is designed to support. But as the *Calm*, mentioned in the Title Page, continues but a very little while, and is succeeded by a *boisterous Storm* which blows almost through the whole Book, I imagine you have got nothing by changing Hands, but will find your *present* Advocate has as much prejudiced your Cause, as the *former* did.

My Design in these Sheets is, to shew you how far my Antagonists, though so numerous, have been from answering the Arguments contained in my former *Address*; and, as I go along, shall improve the Opportunity, they have put into my Hands, to insert new Facts and Arguments, as well as to inforce those used before, as I find Occasion. But since your Advocates, whether from their indulging too keen Resentments, or from a Consciousness of their being



being unable fairly to answer my Arguments, have taken considerable Pains, both publickly and privately, to fill your Minds with Prejudices against me personally, as though I was a *contentious Person*, and had *begun the Controversy*, and *made the difference between us wider* than any Man had ever done before ; since they have represented me as “ dealing about my Reproaches at a most unmerciful Rate,” as writing “ without any Regard to Decency or Truth,” and as filling my Book with “ Scandal and scurvy Reflections upon worthy Gentlemen,” and the like : I must entreat you to bear with me, while I endeavour, by way of *Introduction*, to remove these Prejudices from your Minds, by shewing you how unjust such Imputations are. I chuse to do this in the Entrance of my Discourse, that, if possible, you may read what relates more directly to the Merits of the Cause, with the same *friendly Disposition* with which I write, or at least with Minds *unprejudiced and open to Conviction*. To effect which, I entreat you as Lovers of Truth and Righteousness, to consider calmly the following Remarks.

I. The *severe* Language my Antagonists complain of, does, as used by me, relate to *Things*, and not to *Persons*. Dr. *Johnson* speaks of “ dealing about my Reproaches at a most unmerciful Rate “ *on many of his Brethren*, and says that I have “ thought fit also without any manner of Reason or Provocation, to abuse *him*.” *Pref. p. 1.* Now I readily acknowledge I never had any personal Controversy with the Doctor, I had never received any Affront from him, and if he had provoked me, I hope I should have discovered a more Christian Temper than to have abused him in Return. The Abuse he complains of is this ; I had represented him as *suggesting* or *insinuating* that the Being we Worship is not the God of *Israel*, nor the God of Christians ; and had said upon it, “ if “ the Object of our Worship be not the God of Christi- “ ans, he is the God of the Heathen, the God of this “ World ; if he be not the God of *Israel*, he must be the  
B “ God



52  
 "God of Ekron." And this I called an "horrid and monstrous Insinuation." The Case was this; Dr. Johnson, some Years ago, publickly endeavoured to excuse himself from Schism, by saying that his "Departure from us had never been attended with a Spirit of Severity, Cenforiousness, or Uncharitableness towards us." † But in the late Doctrinal Controversy, he seems to have lost all the Charity he used to boast of; and says to his Antagonist, the late Rev. Mr. Dickinson, "it is too plain, though I believe you are not aware of it, that You with these Authors [the Authors of the Independent Whig] differ from us and the Generality of Christians, in the very Notion of a God. And I will venture to say, that I have too much Reason to believe that the God which some People have, of late, described in this Country, as the God whom they Worship, is not the God of Israel, nor the God of Christians." ‖ In these Words the Dr. directly charges Mr. Dickinson as differing from him "in the very Notion of a God," and the Reason of his charging this upon him was, Mr. Dickinson was a Calvinist, and wrote in Defence of those Principles against the Dr. who had attack'd them. 'Tis well enough known, that the Ministers of this Country generally profess themselves Calvinists; and the Dr. and his Brethren, when they think it will serve their Turn, know how to represent them in this Character, and even in that of Antinomians. Now if the Dr. brought this Charge against Mr. Dickinson because he was a Calvinist, I can't think I went too far in representing him as suggesting the same Thing with Regard to the generality of our Ministers. It is true the Dr. changes the Form of Expression in the last Sentence, and does not say, as before, you, but some People of late; and here he attempts to creep out; and would have it, that, by this Expression, I ought to have understood only some late "stroling Teach-

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† Second Letter to Dissent. Parish. p. 46.

‖ Letter to Mr. Dickinson, p. 14.



ers and Exhorters." But *this Evasion* is so mean that I am sorry to see Dr. *Johnson* driven to make use of it. There is nothing more common than to change the Expression, in some such Form as is here used, when the same Person is meant, and understood. And if it will give the Dr. any Satisfaction to know it, I can assure him, that I had met with some of his Friends and Admirers, that took the Expression in the same Sense as I did ; and I willingly leave the judicious Reader to judge whether I have " meanly and wickedly disguised " his Words or his Sense.

The Epithets (*horrid* and *monstrous*) which I affixed to the *Insinuation* itself, and not to the Person that made it, were not more severe than it deserved. This the Dr. himself allows : if People believe my Account of him, which was, that he did *insinuate* such a Thing, he " should " not wonder if they thought it *a most horrid and monstrous Insinuation.*" p. 2. As for those Questions of the Doctor's, " Why must it needs be the God of this " World, if not the God of Christians ? Why must it " be the God of *Ekron*, if not the God of *Israel* ? " I suppose they don't *now* require any Answer ; for I hope the *Warmth* with which he wrote them is gone off, and that he is before this Time sensible that every Object of Worship is either the true God or a false God, and that it is agreed between us, that He who was worshiped by *Israel* of old, and is worshiped by Christians at present, is the true GOD ; and that the Object of *Heathen* Worship, whether he be called *Baal-zebub* or *Fate*,— is a false God. The Apostle says, that *the Things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils, and not to God*, and 'tis true of every Act of Religious Worship, as well as of sacrificing, that it has GOD or the Devil for it's Object. As therefore you have the Doctor's Allowance to think such an Insinuation " a most horrid and monstrous " one, so I hope you will now find sufficient Reason to judge, that he did insinuate this of us ; and consequently will be convinced, that I have not abused him.



him. And I hope he will seriously consider, whether it was not injurious in him, to represent me on this Occasion as one of those who are not to be believed when they speak the Truth.

Mr. Beach says, that “ my Piece is fill’d with Scandal  
“ and scurvy Reflections upon many worthy Gentlemen,  
“ both at Home and here, some of whom I have named,  
“ and charged with mean and wicked Arts, though I  
“ have not—put his Name into my Catalogue of mean  
“ and wicked Deceivers.” p. 2. Would not any Man upon reading this, be ready to conclude that I had directly called some Persons “ mean and wicked Deceivers ?” But this cannot be found in my Book ; I do indeed stile *some Arts* or Practices *mean and wicked* : But the Men who used them I leave to the Judgment of a Righteous God, who knows what Views they were influenced by, and what Designs they had. I produced but two Instances, under the Head of Accounts by which the Society for propagating the Gospel had been imposed on, and it was in Reference to them that I used this Expression. Now it so happens, that among so many Answerers as I am honoured with, no one has said a single Word in Favour either of the Arts themselves, or of the Persons named as having used them.

I wish my Antagonists had been as cautious as I have been, of charging Things *personally*. Had they joined *barsh Epithets* only to Things, I should have had much less Reason to complain of them. But instead of this, they charge on me, *personally*, such Things as I charge only on their Practices ; and they even usurp the Prerogative of God himself, by undertaking to judge the secret Intentions of my Soul. This Mr. Wetmore was notoriously guilty of in *his Vindication* of you, which I replied to in my former Address. He charged me with “ such glaring Falshood and Prevarication,” as must expose me to Shame and Reproach ; with having “ most wickedly falsified the Canons of the Church ;” and “ with writing after another as wicked and false as myself ;



self ;” and, to crown all, he adds, “ I charge him  
 “ boldly with *gross* Prevarication and *Falshood*, done with  
 “ *a wicked Intent.*” All these *abusive* Expressions are  
 taken out of one short Paragraph of Mr. *Wetmore*’s Book ;  
 (p. 22.) and if you can shew me any Thing like this in  
 my Address, personal Charges reflecting on Men’s  
 moral Characters, and judging their State and the Secrets  
 of their Hearts, I will consent that my Book be condemn-  
 ed to the Flames. In my former Address I have justi-  
 fied those Things, on the Account of which Mr. *Wetmore*  
 brought these heavy Charges against me ; and I thought  
 I had said enough to bring him to exonerate his Consci-  
 ence by an ingenuous Confession. But, though he is  
*forced* at last to give up the *main* Thing controverted  
 between us on this Head, by allowing that “ the Canons  
 “ of the Church permit the Ordination of Men to the  
 “ Ministry, *not qualified* to be Preachers,” (*Appen.* p. 51.)  
 yet he *repeats* and even *aggravates the Abuse* : “ My Con-  
 “ science (says he) suggests no Reparation at all due to  
 “ his Character, which before appeared to be that of a  
 “ *Slanderer*, and now *an obstinate one.*” p. 50. Under  
 these and such like Abuses, I have the Satisfaction  
 of thinking, that every unprejudiced Reader of these Con-  
 troversies will judge my Treatment of your Advocates  
 candid, at least when compared with their Treatment of  
 me. And when I reflect on many Passages of this Kind  
 in their Writings, ’tis not possible for me to avoid some  
 Suspicion, that they are sensible their Cause will not well  
 bear a free and open Examination ; and therefore depend  
 much upon deterring Men from examining it, by letting  
 them know, that whoever meddles with them must ex-  
 pect they will unite in their Endeavours to blacken his  
 moral Character ; and that, after the fullest Conviction of  
 their having injured him, all the Reparation he is to ex-  
 pect, is, to have the *abusive* Charge repeated and  
 aggravated.



II. The Facts they are most angry with me for mentioning, are taken from good Authorities. Mr. *Caner* complains of “ the Injury he has suffered, by the Freedom I have used in picking up a few Phrases detach’d from their proper Connection, and giving them quite a different Sense and Turn from what they bore in their natural Situation,” *Append.* p. 73. Now I readily acknowledge that such a Practice as he here mentions, is very injurious and abusive: And, if I have been guilty of it, shall think myself indispensibly bound, both in Honour and Conscience, to make him the most ample and public Reparation. But when Mr. *Caner* adds “ and let him further consider, whether it will be a sufficient Excuse to alledge, that he took them as they lie in the Society’s Abstracts,” I think he has fully cleared me from the Charge insinuated in the foregoing Words. The Fact he is so just as to admit, even that I did take his Words *as they lie in the Society’s Abstracts*; and tho’ I shall be very sorry if Mr. *Caner* suffers any Injury by this Means, yet I can’t think myself the injurious Person. For let the Design of those Abstracts be what it will, I hope the Society have more Regard to Truth, and to the Honour of their Missionaries, than to publish to the World, under the Head of *Advices they have received from their Missionaries*, “ a few Phrases detach’d from their proper Connection, giving them quite a different Sense and Turn from what they bore in their natural Situation.” This is much the most severe Reflection on the Society, I have ever met with: If it be just, I am glad it is publish’d; and shall hope that it will serve as a Caution to such charitable People, as have hitherto been induced by these publick Accounts, to contribute so largely towards carrying on the Designs in which the Society is engaged. But ’till Mr. *Caner* proves this against the Society, I shall think myself not only excused, but fully justified, in charging any Missionary with sending home such Accounts as the Society, in their public Abstracts, say they have received from him: Especially since



since I find their Charter requires that their Secretary be under Oath, and by one of their *standing Orders*, the Abstract is to be “approved by the Society,” before it is publish’d. †

III. Though I took the Facts reported, from such publick and authentick Accounts, yet I allowed for a Mistake where I had any Reason to suspect one ; and I omitted naming the Person concerned, when the Nature of the Case would admit of it. In both these Respects I acted a candid Part towards Mr. *Caner* in particular, and treated his Character with Tenderness. When I mentioned a Missionary as recommending his Brother to the Society, by representing him as teaching a Number of poor Children all the Week, and then walking a dozen Miles of a Saturday Afternoon, in order to read Prayers in a Church the next Day ; I did not *name* the Missionary that sent this Account, though I thought it necessary to refer in my Margin to the Abstract where the Account is published. These Abstracts are in the Hands of but few People in this Country, and those few are chiefly Mr. *Caner*’s Brethren and Friends, who it may be presumed would be tender of his Character. I suppose therefore that it would never have been generally known that he was the Person intended, if he had not unadvisedly started out of the Obscurity I left him in, with an *adsum qui feci* in his Mouth. If therefore his Reputation suffers in this Instance, he must thank himself for it.

The Account of this Matter, as the Society have published it, Mr. *Caner* will not undertake to justify ; but says that “in the Missionary’s Letter, the Expression is “not *walking*, but *travelling* ; though as he supposes “by an Error in the printing or transcribing that Letter, “it is published *walking*.” p. 74. Now if this were truly the Fact, Mr. *Caner* can’t justly blame me for not knowing that the Secretary did not transcribe his Letter

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† *Vid. Collection of Papers*, p. 62.



carefully, or that he was negligent in correcting the Press. And it will not be pretended, that there is so near a Resemblance between the two Words, *Walks* and *Travels*, as to occasion a reasonable Suspicion that the one was mistaken for the other. And further, I had this Reason to believe that the Words, in Mr. *Caner's* Letter, stood as they are printed in the Abstract. The Society profess themselves *well pleased with the Diligence* of the young Gentleman thus recommended to them; and thereupon received him into their Service and Pay. Now to *ride* a Dozen Miles on Saturday, instead of being an Instance of *uncommon Diligence* or Labouriousness, would really be an *agreeable Diversion* to a young Gentleman, after spending the Week in the sedentary Employment of teaching School.

Another Instance, wherein the same Gentleman is concerned, is mention'd in my *Address* in these Words, "The Congregation increased to such a Degree that they were obliged, he said, to build Galleries in the Church sufficient to contain *an hundred* People." Here I was so cautious of injuring Mr. *Caner*, that I put down the Account but *one* hundred, when it stands *two* hundred in the Society's Abstract. And I made this Abatement, upon calling to Mind that a Gentleman informed me, some Years before, of his having seen an Abstract in which Mr. *Caner* had so corrected the printed Account. Had I been disposed to make the worst of Things, I should have wrote two Hundred, according to the printed Account; and Mr. *Caner* would never have known that I had been informed of his having corrected it with his Pen. This I think deserved a more generous Return than is contained in those Words Mr. *Caner* uses by Way of Reply, "it is not easy to conjecture what *honest* Purpose Mr. *Hobart* intended this Representation should serve." p. 70.

Mr. *Caner* imagines no reasonable Man will suspect him of a *form'd Design* to misrepresent a Matter of Fact, and deceive the Society, when he sent home this Account of the Growth of



C



Expectations ; and though they assembled in that House for seven Years after, they did not find such a want of Room below, as to finish the Galleries they had begun.

In the Year 1738 the Members of the Episcopal Separation in *Fairfield* raised a new Church, of which the Society published an Account in these Words ; “ The  
 “ Rev. Mr. *Caner*, Missionary at *Fairfield*, by a Letter  
 “ dated Nov. 22. 1738, begs Leave to lay before the  
 “ Society the State of his Parish. The good People of  
 “ *Fairfield* were then employed in building a new  
 “ Church ; *the old one being much too little for the Con-*  
 “ *gregation,*” &c. The only Reason assigned for their building a new Church is, that the old one was *much too little* for the Congregation ; if therefore this was not the *only* Reason Mr. *Caner* gave, or so represented that the Society understood it to be the *principal* Reason for building a new Church ; I must own, I think the Society injured Mr. *Caner*, and imposed upon their Benefactors, by publishing the Account, as they did : And I must leave them to dispute that Matter with him. In the mean Time, I observe, that Mr. *Caner* is so far from pretending that this was the *only*, or indeed the *principal* Reason of building the new Church, that he says “ he can scarce  
 “ think I need Information that *a very different Reason*  
 “ was given for the Removal of that Church.” p. 71. If he supposes I knew that he gave any other Reason, in his Letter to the Society, I assure him he is mistaken : I knew nothing of what he wrote to them, but what they published as received from him. But if he means that I was so well acquainted with the Fact, as to know that this was not the *only* Reason, nor indeed *any Reason at all* for their building a new Church ; I confess I did not need his Information as to this Point. And I suppose all reasonable Men will be satisfied that they have Information, sufficient to their forming a Judgment between us on this Head, when they are told, that the old Church in *Fairfield*, though not a large House, was as big as Houses of that Kind in this Country, generally  
 them



then were ;—that Mr. *Caner* says it had Galleries capable of containing an hundred People ;—and that he quotes me (without contradicting the Account) saying that I was well assured his Congregation did never stately consist of eighty two adult Persons. To suppose a People in these Circumstances, building a new Church *for want of Room* in the old one, is, to suppose them “ to be the “ weakest Sett of Men alive ;” especially if they should so order Matters that the new one would not accommodate so many People as the old. And yet I believe the old Church here, with Galleries capable of containing an hundred People, would accommodate more than the new one, which, though larger on the Ground, has no Galleries, and indeed is so built as not well to admit of any.

Mr. *Caner* has at last given a more just Account of the Reason of building a new Church, “ The old Church “ was near a Mile from the Center of the Town”—and “ by removing it into the Town, *Provision was made* “ *for a decent Attendance* at all Times.” p. 71. They were so far from wanting *Room* to accommodate the People, that indeed they wanted *People* to fill the House ; or even to make a *decent Attendance at all Times*. And agreeable to this it is credibly reported, that when Mr. *Caner* determined to leave his People, he gave it as a Reason of his Removal, that he had spent twenty Years in Preaching to bare Walls. Upon the whole, I can’t think this Gentleman was well advised when he “ put “ down the whole Paragraph of that Letter—just as it “ was transmitted to the Society ;” for, when he informs them that his “ People have been this Year employed in “ erecting a new Church, *the old one being too small*, and “ *not worth enlarging* on many Accounts ; chiefly as to “ its Scituation, which is near a Mile from the Center “ of the Town,” he evidently represents the Matter to them in this Light, that though (as he had formerly told them) they had built Galleries in the Church capable of containing an hundred People, yet they now found themselves obliged *for want of Room* either to *enlarge* the Church,



Church, or to *build a new* ; and that they chose to build a new Church because the old one did not stand to suit the People. This was the View in which it was natural for the Society to understand Mr. *Caner* ; and whether this was agreeable to the Truth of the Case, may easily be judged by what has been said.

I fear some of my Readers. will think these Matters too particular and personal, and blame me for saying so much upon them : But I desire such to consider, that the Nature of this Controversy leads me *unavoidably* to mention particular Facts. Now when any Gentleman thinks his Character affected by my Representation of Facts, he has *a Right* to call upon me to justify or retract what I have said. This is the Case between Mr. *Caner* and me ; and it proceeds entirely from this, and not from my having a personal Controversy with him, that I have spent so much Time on these Heads. I will only add, that Mr. *Caner* considers the Instances wherein he is concerned, as coming under the Head of Accounts by which the Society has been imposed on, though I *did not* place them under that Head. If he means to insist on it that they *ought* to be placed there, I will not contest that Point with him. But

IV. Mr. *Beach* taxes me with “ abusive Language,” with “ calling the Church of *England* a Faction,” p. 29, and “ a Separation, wicked Schism and Faction,” p. 45. He says I have “ repeatedly called your *serious and devout* Observation of Christ’s Nativity, Frolicking,” p. 29, and that my Book is “ filled with Scandal and scurvy Reflections on many worthy Gentlemen.” p. 2. All this, and a pretty deal more of the like Sort, he says after having promised, with a Solemnity *nearly equivalent to an Oath*, that he would “ use the *softest Expressions* that “ Justice to Truth would allow of,” p. 2. And that he might be sure to keep his *solemn Promise*, he calls me. “ *a confident Schismatick.*” p. 45.

Besides the remarkable *Softness* and good Nature of his



his Expressions, I hope you will make some Observations upon the *Justice* of the Charges contained in them. Mr. *Beach* can hardly be ignorant, that I never called *the Church of England* a Separation or Faction, or used the Words *wicked Schism* and *Faction*, when speaking of it. I did indeed speak of the *Episcopal Separation in New-England* as a *Faction*, and I suppose I have proved that there is the proper Nature and Essence of Schism in it. But I don't remember, that I ever stiled any particular Member of this Separation a *Schismatick*; for when I could not avoid the Use of *harsh* and *ill sounding* Epithets, I made it a Rule to annex them to *Things*, and not to *Persons*. And Mr. *Beach* is no doubt sensible that, at least in my Way of thinking, there is a Difference between the *Church of England*, and the *Episcopal Separation in New-England*. The former is an ancient and venerable Society, which though in many Instances not so perfect as the Reformers intended it should be, and as many of it's present Members and Ornaments wish it was, and have been lately endeavouring to render it, \* yet has a proper legal Establishment: The latter is an *inconsiderable* Sect of late Standing, built upon the Foundations of uncharitable Principles and Schismatical Practices, and, though supported by Money, given to a better Use, wholly destitute of all reasonable Pretences to a legal Establishment. It is therefore injurious in Mr. *Beach* to represent me as calling *the Church*, that Church of which "His Majesty King GEORGE is at the Head," and which he has "sworn to maintain," a *wicked Schism* and *Faction*, when he knew that what I called a *Faction*, was, at least in my Opinion, quite a different Thing from the *Church of England*. And I sincerely wish the Members of the *Episcopal Separation*, if they will not be prevailed with to return to our Communion, would yet be persuaded to espouse such *generous* and *Catholic* Principles, and to act in so candid, peacea-

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\* *Vid. Free and Candid Disquisitions.*



ble and charitable a Manner towards us, as to make him ashamed who shall at any Time call them a Faction.

What you call *keeping Christmas*, I called a *Frolick*; and I should be heartily glad if it did not, as you Practise it, deserve a much worse Name. I suppose Mr. *Beach* will not be fond of owning that he means the same Thing by your "*solemn Devotions*," as I do by *Frolicking*; and if not, he must own that he has injured me.

By "*Scandal and scurvy Reflections on many worthy Gentlemen both at Home and here*," I conclude he intends the Remarks I have made on the Accounts some of the Missionaries have sent Home, and the Conduct of the Society grounded on such Informations. I shall hereafter have Occasion to justify a greater Freedom than I have yet taken, in examining the Proceedings of the Society; and therefore will at present only say, that I have been so far from using *scurvy Reflections* with Regard to them, as that, when I supposed I had the strongest Evidence that *their Conduct* was unjustifiable, I laid the *Blame* not on them, but on such as deceived them by representing Things in a false Light; and I expressed my Belief, that whenever they were truly informed of the State of Religion in *America*, they would act in a very different Manner from what they do now. This Way of treating the Society, may indeed be called *Scandal and scurvy Reflections*, with just the same Propriety as Mr. *Beach's* Book is called a *calm and dispassionate Vindication*.

The worthy Gentlemen *here*, upon whom scurvy Reflections are said to be cast, are those whom I have mention'd as misinforming the Society. If Mr. *Beach* includes Mr. *Caner* in this Number, I suppose I have justified what I said of him. And with Regard to those I did mention under this Head, it would have been much more to the Purpose, for Mr. *Beach* to have vindicated the Accounts they sent Home, by a particular Reply to my Remarks upon them, than to represent them as *worthy Gentlemen* suffering under *scurvy Reflections*; while all I have charged upon them remains unanswer'd, and so is to be taken for confessed. There



There is one Thing more which perhaps Mr. *Beach* looks upon as Scandal, and that is, what he calls my “ idle  
 “ Tale of a certain Clergyman who would not have come  
 “ into this Country, if he had had but five Shirts.” p. 40.  
 To which I reply, that the Story was (as I’m inform’d)  
 told by a Missionary to the Church People at *New London*,  
 when they were, some Years ago, contending with a Stran-  
 ger, whom the Society had appointed to be their Mi-  
 nister. Whether it be *History* or *Parable*, I care not ; for  
 in either View, it well represents the Danger that this  
 Country will be *but indifferently* supplied with Ministers,  
 if we give up the invaluable Privilege of chusing for our-  
 selves, and come under an Obligation of taking at a Ven-  
 ture such as shall be sent us from Home. And if Mr.  
*Beach* does not know that very unqualified Persons have  
 in Fact been sent over as Missionaries, I will recommend  
 to his Perusal, what Bishop *Kennet*, who was a very active  
 Member of the Society from its first Formation for almost  
 thirty Years, says of them in a Letter to Dr. *Colman*,  
 “ The two great Difficulties that lie hard upon our Society  
 “ for Propagation of the Gospel are, (1) The *Want of*  
 “ *sober and religious Missionaries* ; few offering themselves  
 “ to that Service for the Glory of God, and the Good of  
 “ Souls ; but *chiefly to find a Refuge from Poverty and*  
 “ *Scandal.* (2) Such Men when they come to the Places  
 “ allotted them, forget their Mission ; and instead of pro-  
 “ pagating Christianity, *are only contending for Rites and*  
 “ *Ceremonies*, or for Powers and Priviledges, and are dis-  
 “ puting with the Vestries of every Parish, *and even with*  
 “ *the Civil Government of every Province.*” † The Pub-  
 lick will judge how far any Part of this Character agrees  
 to the present Set of Missionaries.

V. Endeavours have been used to prejudice you against  
 me, by representing me, as having *begun the Controversy*,  
 and as having *made the Difference* between us greater than

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† *Life of Dr. Colman*, p. 130.



any Man had done before. That some Pains have been taken to represent me in this Light, many of you can witness. And that you may be convinced that such a Representation is unjust, I would entreat you calmly to consider the following brief Account of the Rise of the Controversy.

The *New English* Churches met with little Disturbance from the Episcopalians, for the first fifty or sixty Years: But about the Year 1680 an Episcopal Congregation was set up in *Boston*. They were small and poor; and not being able to build a Church, were allowed the Use of the Town-House. Sir *Edmund Andross* came over Governor in the Year 1686; and, the Charter of the *Massachusetts* having been before vacated by a Judgment in Chancery, he erected a most arbitrary and tyrannical Government. He with his Council, consisting of six or seven Men, (most of them Strangers, and none of them chosen by the People) had the *Legislative* as well as *Executive* Power lodged in them. They made what Laws and levied what Taxes they pleased: And to such a Length did they carry their Tyranny, that one of their own Number (*Randolph*) in his Letter of June 21, 1688, confesses, "They were as Arbitrary as the Great Turk." \* The Administration of Sir *Edmund* is thus characterized by a Writer of those Times, "A Government which was a  
" *Treasonable Invasion* of all the Rights belonging to the  
" *English* Nation; a Government which would scarce  
" permit any but *Knaves* or *Slaves* to live under its In-  
" fluence; a Government under which Wickedness  
" would be sure of Countenance, and Piety be as sure of  
" the utmost Discouragement." †

'Twas under *this Government* that the Church began to make a Figure in *Boston*. The Officers and Soldiers Sir *Edmund* brought over with him, made an Addition to their Numbers. And of these I find this Account given, that they were "A Crew that began to teach

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\* Vid. Vind. of *New-England*, p. 7, 13. † Ibid. p. 13.  
New-England



“ *New-England* to Drab, Drink, Blaspheme, Curse and  
 “ Damm.” ‡ Some of the Inhabitants likewise now  
 went over to the Church ; chiefly such as wanted to  
 ingratiate themselves with their new Rulers, in order  
 to procure Civil or Military Posts ; and some (perhaps)  
 with a View to share in the Plunder of their poor, op-  
 pressed Neighbours. The severest Censure ( I hope  
 more *severe* than *just*) which was ever passed upon  
 them, is said to have come from the Mouths of some of  
 their own Number, at a Time when Men use to speak  
 with the greatest Seriousness ; of which I meet with  
 this Account, “ Some of their *principal Persons* have  
 “ said upon their *Death Beds* (in the Hearing of more  
 “ than one or two) with great Bitterness of Soul, that  
 “ *there is not one amongst them, that a Body may reasonably*  
 “ *think to have the Fear of God in him.*” \*

Being thus increased in Numbers, and having a  
 Tyrannical Government to support them, they began to  
 call themselves the *Established Church*, and to discover  
 their Disposition to *impose* upon others, and to *persecute*  
 all that would not submit to them. They would no  
 longer assemble in the *Town-House*, but demanded the  
 Keys of the *South Meeting-House* ; and when some Gen-  
 tlemen, Proprietors of that House, refused to deliver  
 them, “ Governor *Andross* told them, *he would presently*  
 “ *sieze on that House, and all the Meeting-Houses in the*  
 “ *Country, and hinder them from contributing the Value of*  
 “ *two-pence towards the Maintenance of any Nonconformist*  
 “ *Minister.*” And when this Threatning would not  
 prevail, “ they thrust themselves into that Meeting-  
 “ House, and there continued, until by interrupting the  
 “ People of the South Congregation, often in their  
 “ Times, sometimes in the *very Parts* of their Worship,  
 “ the whole Town cried Shame upon them.” †

Another Instance of their imposing Temper, I find  
 mentioned in these Words, “ At the Funeral of one  
 “ Mr. *Lilly* (who never signified to any of his Friends

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‡ p. 14. \* p. 22. † Ibid. p. 12.



“ his Desire to have the Service Book used at his Bu-  
 “ rial) their Officer would needs (for their Edification)  
 “ impose it upon them. The Relations 'tis true, be-  
 “ forehand unanimously informed him, that it would  
 “ be very offensive to them to be so imposed on there-  
 “ in. Yet such was his Zeal, that he came with *Gown*  
 “ and *Book* to settle a laudable Custom in that barba-  
 “ rous Country. One Mr. *Frayray* (a Relation of the  
 “ deceased, in the Name of the rest) only with fit  
 “ Words desired him to forbear ; but he was bound  
 “ over to the Court, where they intended to have ru-  
 “ ined him, had not the *unlucky Revolution* subverted  
 “ these Designs.” ‡

And that the Ministers might have their Share, Mr.  
*Cotton Mather*, was prosecuted upon the Act of Unifor-  
 mity, and illegally condemned ; but the Revolution  
 prevented the Execution of the Sentence against him ;  
 “ for on that very Day that he was to be committed  
 “ to *half a Year's Imprisonment*, those that would have  
 “ wronged him, were justly taken into Custody.” †

Sir *Edmund's* illegal Commission extended to *Connecti-  
 cut*, as well as the other Governments of *New-England* ;  
 and, though no Judgment had been given against our  
 Charter, he assumed the Administration, and continued  
 in it for a Year or two. In his Time, and by his Means,  
 the Seeds of the Episcopal Separation were sown in  
 this Colony ; though they did not grow up so as to bear  
 much Fruit, till a considerable Time after.

The happy Revolution put an End to Sir *Edmund's*  
 Tyranny, and restored these Colonies, with the rest of  
 the Nation, to their invaluable Privileges both Civil  
 and Religious. From this Time the Episcopal Cause  
 declined in the Country. Those who had not gone  
 too far to think of recovering their Credit, now desert-  
 ed it : Those who had continued in a Body ; but were  
 generally looked on as the Betrayers of their Country :  
 And though no Body molested them, yet almost every

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‡ p. 21. † Ibid. p. 12. *Life of Dr. C. Mather*, p. 43.  
 Body



Body despised them. The Church in *Boston*, which was built in Sir *Edmund's* Time, had a small Congregation assembling in it : But no other was erected in the Country for many Years. And had not the Society for Propagation of the Gospel undertaken to support the Cause, 'tis probable that the Episcopal Separation in this Country would have been extinct before this Day.

'Tis not my Design to write the History of the Episcopal Separation in *New-England*. I hope this will be undertaken by some Gentleman of much greater Abilities ; to prepare Materials for which, 'tis greatly to be wished, that Ministers and other Gentlemen, in all Places where this Separation has prevailed, would record the most material Circumstances relating to the Rise and Progress of it, and particularly observe such Misrepresentations of the State of their several Towns or Parishes, as they may find in the Accounts the Society publish, as what they receive from their Missionaries. But these Facts are mentioned to convince you, that I did not begin this Controversy : And if we were thus in *quiet Possession*, and you broke in upon us, and not only set up Churches in Opposition to us, but endeavoured, by very unjustifiable Means, to *dispossess us of our Rights*, and force us to submit and conform to you ; all Mankind will vote you the Aggressors in this Case. Or, if you chuse to look no further back than to Times within our own Remembrance, 'tis easy convicting your Side of beginning the Controversy. The *modest Proof*, &c. and some Pieces publish'd by Mr. *John Checkley* are the oldest within my Memory ; and Dr. *Johnson* is (as far as I can learn) the first Man that ever wrote upon this Controversy in *Connecticut*.

With Regard to making the Difference *wider* than others had done ; I reply, that I neither have done it, nor know how I could effect it, if I were disposed to attempt it. Mr. *Beach* fears *he should have perished in the Gainsaying of Core*, if he had remained with us, p. 42.

And according to him the Laity in our Communion are in as bad a Situation ; for their Acceptance with God  
absolutely



absolutely depends on *such a Succession* in the Ministry, as he says we are wholly destitute of. Mr. *Wetmore* has declared, that he had rather join in Worship with a *Jewish Synagogue* than with a *Presbyterian Church*. ‡ And Dr. *Johnson* thinks it plain, that we differ from you in the very Notion of a GOD. Now if I have made the Difference greater than these Gentlemen have done, I believe Mr. *Beach* will be forced to own me “some-thing more of a *Sampson* than he took me to be.”

Having thus, by Way of Introduction, made such Remarks, as I thought proper to remove the Prejudices, my Antagonists have endeavoured to raise in your Minds, against me, and my Way of writing, and so dispatched what may perhaps appear to some to be of a *Personal Nature*; I come now to what more immediately affects the Merits of the Cause, upon the Footing on which the Controversy now stands.

The first Question in my former, was, *Whether the Inhabitants of the British Plantations in America, those of New-England in particular, are obliged, in Duty by the Laws of GOD or Man, to conform to the Prelatick Church by Law established in the South Part of Great-Britain?*

The Occasion of my stating this Question was this; your Writers had generally taken it for granted, that the Church of *England* had a *Legal Establishment* in this Country, and this by Virtue of the *English Statutes* of Uniformity. These Acts, when you had the Power in your Hands, have been executed in *America*. Of this I have given an Instance in the Case of Dr. *Mathew*; and will now add another in that of Mr. *Mac-kemie*, a worthy Presbyterian Minister from *Scotland*. This Gentleman travelling, through *New-York*, in the Time of Lord *Cornbury's* Administration, and preaching a Sermon in the City, at the Desire of a Number of the Inhabitants who were Presbyterians, was apprehended and brought before the Governor; and, though he produced a Certificate of his having qualified himself

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‡ See the Appendix.



according to the Act of Toleration, he was committed to Prison, and prosecuted upon an Indictment which says, that he did “ *unlawfully use other Rites, Ceremonies, Form and Manner of Divine Worship, than what are contained in a certain Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, &c. against the Form of the Statute,*” &c. ‡ Though after a very tedious and chargeable Tryal, Mr. *Mackemie* was cleared by the Jury. As the Episcopal Party had carried their Pretensions to an Establishment in the Plantations, by Virtue of the Act of Uniformity, to so very high a Pitch, I was willing to give them an Opportunity of publickly justifying this their Claim, and therefore argued the Matter largely : And it gives me some Satisfaction to find, that I have done it so successfully. For though my Antagonists are so numerous, and so well chosen, and though one of them has taken the Pains to consult “ *skilful Lawyers*” in the Case, yet they don’t venture to attack me upon this Head. All I have said stands in full Force ; and instead of attempting to prove an Establishment from the Acts of Uniformity, they now tell us they are established by the Act of UNION.

There is indeed one Thing previous to this Act, mentioned by Mr. *Wetmore*, and that is, that he has been “ told by skilful Lawyers, that ’tis a Maxim established, that Colonies transplanting themselves carry the Laws of their Mother Country with them.” (*Appen. p. 63.*) To which it may be said, that no Society of Men can subsist without some Kind of Laws, since no Man could have any Security of his Life, or any Thing he possessed, unless there were some Law to protect him in it. A Number of Persons therefore transplanting themselves into a new Country, must be supposed to be under the general Direction of some equitable Maxims of Law, relating to Life and Property ; and as they must be best acquainted with the Laws of the

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‡ *Mackemie’s Tryal*, p. 17.



Country they came from, 'tis most just and reasonable for them to act upon these, till they have Time to make some other Laws more adapted to the Circumstances they find themselves in. But then, I conceive that the *formal* Reason why any of the Laws of their Mother-Country oblige Persons in these Circumstances, is, because it is so reasonable and even necessary to be govern'd by them, that every rational Man would chuse it, and may justly be supposed consenting to it. Now this Reason does not hold with Regard to merely positive Laws, relating to Things of an Ecclesiastical Nature. 'Tis strictly essential to Society to have some Laws of a Civil Nature : But a Society may exist without having an Ecclesiastical Constitution established by human Laws and Penalties. And though Mr. *Beach* seems to think, that the *Bible* is not so good a Rule of Ecclesiastical Discipline, as the "Laws of the Land," p. 37. yet I hope he will allow that it is *possible* for a People to manage their Church Discipline, in some tolerable Degree, by the Laws of Christ contained in the Gospel, at least, till they could find Leisure to make some better Rules for themselves. But Mr. *Wetmore* does not seem to lay much Stress on what he has heard of the established Maxim mentioned above ; and Dr. *Johnson* in Effect gives it up ; for when he is telling us what Feats Mr. *Wetmore* has performed, in proving that you have a legal Establishment in these Plantations, he says not a Word of Colonies, when they transplant themselves, carrying the Laws of their Mother-Country with them, but lays the whole Stress upon the Act of Union. Pref. p. 6. I shall therefore presume it sufficiently proved, that there was no legal Establishment of the Church of *England* in the *American* Colonies, antecedent to the Act of Union ; and consequently that, previous to the enacting that Statute, the Inhabitants of these Plantations were under no Obligations, by the Laws of Man, to submit or conform to it.

The next Enquiry will naturally be, Whether the Act of Union does extend the *English* Ecclesiastical Establishment



Establishment to these Plantations, and oblige us to conform to it. This Mr. *Wetmore* is very confident of; “ With regard to the present State of Religion in the Country, (says he) we may submit to have the Controversy determined by the Act of Union, and what his present Majesty has done in Conformity thereto.” Append. p. 64. The Bishop of *London’s* Commission, which he here refers to, shall be considered presently : In the mean Time, we are to examine your Claim to an Establishment founded upon the Act of Union. Now here

I. I will, for once, suppose that you are right in this, or that this Act did *enlarge* the Prelatic Establishment, by extending it to these *American* Colonies. If this be supposed, it will follow that ever since the first Day of *May*, 1707, (the Day on which the Union took Place) the Inhabitants of these Colonies have been obliged, so far as human Laws oblige in Things merely Religious, to conform to the Government and Worship of the Church of *England*. But then you must allow, that they were not obliged hereto before that Day ; because the Law, from which the Obligation is now supposed to arise, was not in Force until that Time. Now this will fully justify what I asserted in my former *Address* p. 35. “ Our Fore-fathers when they arrived in this Country, were entirely without the Pale of the national Church of *England*, and absolutely at Liberty to form themselves into such Churches as they, according to the best Light they could obtain, judged most agreeable to the Gospel Model. Their doing so did in no Degree infringe the Rights, or disturb the Peace of any Church under Heaven ; and therefore no other Church had any Right to controul them, or any Reason to complain of them”. If our modern Separatists, both *Episcopal* and *New-Light*, would but consider how different this Case was from their own, they would never have the Face to plead the Example of our Fore-fathers in Vindication of their Practice, in making



making Separations and setting up Altar against Altar, to the breaking the Peace of Churches and Civil Societies. .... The Force of this Reasoning, in Favour of our Fore-fathers, and the Churches they erected in this Country, must be acknowledged by every Man that knows, that the Year 1630 (the Time when those, whom Mr. *Wetmore* and I agreed in calling the Fathers and Founders of *New-England*, arrived here) was before the Year 1707, (the Time when the Union took Place.) What then can be the Meaning of it, that Mr. *Beach* says, " Thus not only *without any Authority from God or Man*, " from Church or State, but IN DEFIANCE OF BOTH, were " the *New-England Churches first set up*". p. 27? Did he not know that Dr. *Johnson* and Mr. *Wetmore* had given up the old Pretence of an Establishment by the Act of Uniformity, and laid the whole Strefs of your Cause upon the Act of Union? Was he not sensible that the Union took Place some Time since the Year 1629, which is the Time he is there speaking of? Or must we think that his Enmity to our Churches is so strong as to break through the Laws of Chronology, as well as those of Civility and Charity?

But

2. The Act of Union does not extend the Ecclesiastical Establishment of *South Britain* to these *American Colonies*. The Notion of an Establishment for the Plantations being made by the Act of Union, I suppose, was never heard of till very lately; and I am confident, it would never have been espoused by your present Advocates, if they had not been reduced to their very last Shift. An Establishment by the Acts of Uniformity, which used to be their Pretence, would no doubt have pleased them much better; because, on this Supposition, your Establishment, would be prior to the Settlement of *New-England*, and so you would have had some Pretence for condemning the first Settlers of this Country, as well as the present Generation. But being driven out of all Pretences to an Establishment by the Acts of Uniformity, your Vindicators have betaken themselves to the



the Union as their last Refuge. Dr. *Douglass*, a Gentleman they have no Affection for, has helped them to this Refuge ; and that, as it happens, at a Time when they had great Need of it. I had not seen this Gentleman's *Summary* when I wrote before, otherwise I should have considered this Subject in my former *Address*. And I am glad I have the Opportunity of writing again before he finishes his second Volume, in the Appendix to which I trust, he will be as ready to rectify this Mistake (if I am so happy as to satisfy him that it is a Mistake,) as he professes himself to be to hearken to the Corrections of any Missionary, that thinks he deviates from the Truth, in his Account of Facts relating to them, and to the Society which supports them.

The Act we are now disputing about, was made in the fifth Year of Queen ANNE, and is intitled *An Act for SECURING the Church of England AS BY LAW ESTABLISHED*. The *Occasion* of the Statute was this : The Parliament of *Scotland*, when treating of an Union with *England*, were apprehensive of its endangering their Ecclesiastical Establishment. *Scotland* was to have but a small Share in the Legislature of *Great-Britain* ; but *forty five* Members in the House of Commons, which consist of above *five hundred* ; and but *sixteen* in the House of Lords, which then consisted of near *an hundred*, and might be increased by the Sovereign at Pleasure. The *Scots* therefore, to prevent having their Ecclesiastical Establishment repealed in a *British* Parliament, where they might be so easily outvoted by the *English* Members, passed an Act previous to the Union, establishing the Presbyterian Church, within the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in Perpetuity, and made this Act an Essential and Fundamental Part of the Union, which might not be repealed or altered by any subsequent *British* Parliament : And this put the *English* Parliament upon passing this Act for *securing* the Church of *England*. Neither of them designed to enlarge the Bounds of their Ecclesiastical Constitution, or extend their Establishment further than it reached before ; But only to *secure* and *perpetuate* it in

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it's then present Extent. This is evident not only from the Occasion of the Act, but from the charitable Temper the *English* Parliament was under the Influence of, when they passed it. They were not such uncharitable Bigots, as condemn all that differ from them in Forms of Government, and Modes of Worship. They were none of those *Highflyers* that esteem the Presbyterians as Sons of *Corah*, and Descendants of *Jonathan*: But they gave an Instance of the contrary catholic and charitable Temper, on this very Occasion. “The Lord  
 “*North* and *Grey* offered a Rider to be added to the  
 “Bill for an Union, viz. That it might not extend to  
 “an *Approbation* or Acknowledgment of the Truth of  
 “the Presbyterian Way of Worship, or allowing the  
 “Religion of the Church of *Scotland* to be what it is  
 “stiled, the *true Protestant Religion*. But this Clause  
 “was rejected”.† A Parliament that would acknowledge the Religion of the Church of *Scotland* to be the *true Protestant Religion*, and allow their Acts to extend to an APPROBATION of the *Presbyterian Way of Worship*, tho' they might think it best to secure and perpetuate the Church of *England* within those Bounds wherein it was before established, can hardly be supposed to have designed to extend it beyond them. To be sure, they would not impose it upon such as conscientiously differed from it, and had fled to the Ends of the Earth to be free from its Dominion; which they well knew to be the Case of the People in some of the Plantations, and in *New-England* in particular.

The Title of the Act, which Mr. *Wetmore* has omitted, is exactly agreeable to what we have said of the Design of it, and of the Temper of the Parliament that passed it. Tis intitled *An Act* not for enlarging, but for securing the Church of *England*, and that not in the American Plantations, but as it is now by Law established; which plainly means no more than to perpetuate it within its ancient Bounderies.

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† *Salmon's Chronol.* p. 299.



The *Provision* made in the Act itself, is well adapted to this Design ; for it enacts that the Act of the 13th of ELIZ. and the Act of Uniformity passed in the 14th of CHARLES II. and all, and singular other Acts of Parliament then in Force for the Establishment and Preservation of the Church of *England*, and the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government thereof, should remain and be in full Force forever ; and that after the Demise of her Majesty, the Sovereign next succeeding to her Majesty in the Royal Government of the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, and so forever hereafter, every succeeding Sovereign shall, at his or her Coronation, take and subscribe an Oath to maintain and preserve inviolably the *said Settlement* of the Church of *England*, and the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government thereof as by Law established, within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominions of *Wales* and the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, and the Territories thereunto belonging. This Act does not use such Expressions as would have been proper, and even necessary, had the Design been to have made a new Establishment ; but only such as are proper to ratify and confirm an old one. The Settlement which the King is sworn to preserve, is represented as existing previously to the passing this Act, and not as made by it. The Words of the Oath are *to maintain and preserve inviolably the said Settlement*. If it be asked, *What Settlement* ? The Answer must be, A Settlement heretofore made and confirmed by certain Statutes, which, for the greater Certainty and Security, are enumerated in this Act, and declared to be unalterable. This is the Settlement the King is sworn to preserve ; and this Settlement has no Relation to us in *America* ; for the Acts which originally made it, did not reach hither, and this Act which perpetuates them, does not extend them to us.

Mr. *Wetmore* seems to think that the Word *Territories* necessarily means these *American Colonies* : But in this he is mistaken. These Countries are usually, in Law as well as other Writings, stiled *Colonies* or *Plantations*



tations in *America*, and not *Territories*. An Instance of this he may find in the Society's Charter. The Islands of *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, &c. were properly *Territories* belonging to the Kingdom of *England* before the Union took Place, and they stand in the same Relation to the Kingdom of *Great-Britain* since. The Church of *England* was established in these Islands, and the Legislature intended to perpetuate it in them, as well as in *England* itself; so that there was Occasion to use the Word *Territories*, even upon the Supposition that they did not design to make the Establishment more extensive than it was before this Law passed. And therefore Mr. *Wetmore* can never infer, from their using this Expression, that they intended to enlarge the Establishment, by taking in the *American Colonies*, which were not before subject to it.

Upon the Whole, I think it very evident, that as the Parliament, when they passed the Act of Union, had no Design of extending the Ecclesiastical Establishment to us; so the Act itself has no Expressions that require us to submit to it. And this has been the Opinion at Home ever since this Act was made. The Society that support your Ministers, are of this Opinion. Dr. *Bisse*, Bishop of *Hereford*, a Member of the Society, preached the Annual Sermon, *February 21, 1717*, ten Years after the Act of Union took Place, and he says it would have well become “ the Wisdom wherewith that great  
 “ Work [the Reformation, or Establishment of the  
 “ Church of *England*,] was conducted in this Kingdom,  
 “ that this Foreign Enterprize [the Settlement of Plantations in *America*] also should have been carried on  
 “ by the Government, in the like regular Way”. But he owns the Government at Home did not interpose in the Case, or establish any Form of Religion for us.  
 “ In Truth (says his Lordship) the whole was left to  
 “ the Wisdom of the first Proprietors, and to the Conduct of every private Man”. He observes, that of late Years the civil Interest hath been regarded, and the Dependance of the Colonies on the Imperial Crown  
 of



of the Realms secured ; But then with Regard to the Religion of the Plantations, his Lordship acknowledges that “ the Government itself here at Home, Sovereign “ as it is, and invested doubtless with sufficient Authority there, *hath not tho’t fit to interpose in this Matter* ; otherwise than in this charitable Way. It hath “ enabled us to ask the Benevolence of all good Christians, towards the Support of Missionaries to be sent “ among them”†. Thus Bishop *Bisse* tho’t as I do, that the Act of Union did not extend the Establishment to the Plantations. And if the Society had not been of the same Opinion, they would hardly have printed and dispersed his Sermon.

If you would know the Opinion of the civil Rulers of the Nation, who may justly be supposed best acquainted with the Laws of it ; tis certain that they do not think the Act of Union established the Church of *England* in *America*. This is plain from the Letter of the *Lords Justices* to Governor *Dummer*, in the Year 1725, almost twenty Years after the Union, wherein they say “ There is no regular Establishment of any “ National or Provincial Church in these Plantations”.

There is one Thing more mentioned by Mr. *Wetmore* as a Proof of your having an Establishment in this Country ; I mean the Commission granted by his present Majesty to the late Bishop of *London*. Mr. *Wetmore* thinks this proves that the Ecclesiastical Establishment extends to *New-England* ; but the late Bishop of *London* was a better Judge in this Case than Mr. *Wetmore*. His Lordship was remarkable for Skill in the Laws, so far as they relate to Ecclesiastical Affairs, witness his Codex ; and he was of the contrary Opinion. For in his Letter to Dr. *Colman* of May 24th 1735, he writes thus, “ My Opinion has always been, that the “ Religious State of *New-England* is founded in an equal Liberty to all Protestants ; none of which can “ claim the Name of a National Establishment, or any

† Sermon before the Society, p. 12, 13.



“ kind of Superiority over the rest”. This Opinion the Bishop gave not only since the Act of Union, but even seven Years after he himself had received that Commission which Mr. *Wetmore* mentions. If therefore his Lordship understood his own Commission, which I suppose Mr. *Wetmore* will hardly deny, it neither proves nor supposes that the Act of Union, or any other Law, had extended the Episcopal Establishment to this Country, or obliged us to conform to it.

Having thus (I hope effectually) answered every Thing your Advocates have advanced, in Support of the Establishment they pretend to have in this Country; I have a Right to conclude, and you ought to confess, that the Church of *England* has no Sort of legal Establishment here, and that therefore your Conformity to it, is in no Sense an Act of Obedience to the King, or the Laws of the Nation, nor our refusing to submit to it any Kind of Disobedience to them.

It will do Mr. *Beach* no Harm, if, when he has read so far, he should make a Pause, and seriously ask his own Conscience, Whether he has acted a *just* and *righteous* Part, in representing me, and all my Brethren, the Ministers of this Country, as “*making Conscience of disobeying both GOD and the KING*”. p. 41. This is one of the heaviest Charges I ever knew bro’t against any Men. ’Tis bad enough to *disobey God and the King*, whatever Principle Men act upon; but to *make Conscience* of disobeying both, or for Men to place Religion in this, is horrid almost beyond Conception. For my Part, I cannot easily believe that there is one Man on Earth so bad, and I doubt whether Human Nature is capable of so great a Degree of Wickedness. If Mr. *Beach* represents the Ministers of *New-England* to the Society, in the same Colours as he has here represented us to the World, and they believe his Accounts, I confess I don’t wonder at their sending Missionaries hither; even tho’ for our sakes they neglect the numerous Nations of Heathen round us, and those *British* Colonies that



that seem abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity, or are in Danger of being perverted by Romish Priests and Jesuits to their Superstition. For, as neither Popery, nor Heathenism, nor even Atheism is quite so bad as a Religion which teaches Men to disobey both God and the King, from a Principle of Conscience; so it must be owned that a truly Christian Zeal for the Honour of God, and a charitable Concern for the Souls of Men, would prompt them to begin with, and to do most for those that were in the worst Condition. What a Pity it is that neither Mr. Beach, nor any of his Associates in this Performance, happened upon the lucky Thot of justifying the Conduct of the Society upon this Footing!

But let us inquire a little into the Foundation of this dreadful Charge, and examine the Evidences he brings to support it. He says, "His present Majesty was pleased by our Governor to lay his Commands upon all Ministers, that in all Collects, Litanies and Prayers for the Royal Family, we should use these Words, Their Royal Highnesses Frederick Prince of Wales,--- &c. Now, as far as I can learn, your Ministers never use these Words in any Collect or Litany". He does not charge us with *not praying* for the Royal Family, nor so much as with *not using the Words* mentioned in the Order of Council he speaks of; but says, as far as he can learn, we never use them in any Collect or Litany. Now if he uses the Words *Collect* and *Litany* according to their original Signification, meaning by the former a short Prayer, and by the latter a general Supplication, his Information is wrong; for we do sometimes use these Words in our Prayers, though we don't think ourselves obliged to the constant Use of them: But if, by *Collect* and *Litany*, he means those Parts of the Common-Prayer Book which are called by these Names, he need not have been so cautious as to insert those Words "*as far as I can learn*"; for he very well knew, without taking any Pains to learn it, that we don't use his beloved Liturgy. And as this is a Fact known to the Government at Home, as well as to Mr. Beach, one would



would be apt to imagine, that this Order is intended only for the Church Clergy. And perhaps Mr. *Beach* will, on second Tho'ts, come into this Opinion ; for if he insists upon it that *we* are included in this Order, he will be obliged to allow that the King and Council own *us* in the Character of *Ministers* equally with *them*. And yet he knows *one Man* that fears we are neither Christ's Ministers nor the King's, (p. 38.) and is acquainted with a *Number* that affect to call us not *Ministers* but *Teachers* ; and so set themselves in a Sort of Opposition to their Sovereign, though I would hope they don't make Conscience of it.

But, whether Mr. *Beach* will be so good as to joyn with us in this Opinion, or no ; I believe all who impartially consider the Occasion of these Orders of the King in Council, and the Law on which they are grounded, will be fully satisfied that *we* are not obliged to use these particular Words, in praying for the *Royal Family*, and consequently are not guilty of any Disobedience, if we do not confine ourselves to them. The *Act for Uniformity of Public Prayer* (14th. Ch. II.) requires the Clergy of the Church of *England* to keep exactly to the Words of the Common-Prayer Book, and they all solemnly promise, at their Ordination, that they will use that Form and *no other*. They are not, by Law, at Liberty so much as to omit the Names of those Branches of the *Royal Family* that are dead. But the Act says " that in all Prayers, Litanies and Collects which  
 " do any Way relate to the King, Queen or Royal  
 " Progeny, the Names be altered and changed from  
 " Time to Time, and fitted to the present Occasion,  
 " according to the Direction of lawful Authority". The Law does not leave the Minister at Liberty to make this Alteration himself, but orders him to wait for the Direction of lawful Authority, in the Case. On this Law these Orders of the King in Council are founded, and this is the Occasion of their being made. Now as such Orders are always to be understood conformable to the Law on which they are grounded, it is evident  
 that



that they relate *only* to such Ministers as are obliged to use the Liturgy; and are to them a Direction, from lawful Authority, to vary in that Case from the Form as printed in the Prayer Book.

And if this be the true State of the Case, how *unjust* and *cruel* was it in Mr. *Beach* to bring so heavy a Charge against us, as that of *making Conscience of disobeying both God and the King*? Is this the Man that began his Book with those solemn Expressions (which considered in this Connection, I tremble to repeat,) viz. That he would answer me “in Meekness, and under a Sense “that this may be the last Answer he may make, until he Answers to Christ, his Eternal Judge?” p. 2. Men ought not to use such *awful Solemnities* in the Beginning of their Books, which in Truth are very little (if at all) short of making Oath to all they write; or, if they use them, they ought to write under the most lively and affecting Influence of them. Things of this Nature are especially dangerous to a Man of Mr. *Beach's* Temper, when engaged in Controversy; and yet I cannot call to Mind any Controversial Writer that so much abounds with them. For my Part, I heartily pray that he may obtain a better Temper of Mind, than he has discovered in this Passage, and a great many more of his Book, before he is called to answer to his *Eternal Judge*. And that his Passions may subside, and make Way for this, I really think his Friends, if they have any Regard to his best Interests, ought to use their united Endeavours to induce him to lay down his Pen, instead of encouraging him to engage in every Controversy that arises in the Country.

The next Thing to be debated, is, the *Succession in the Ministry*, which Mr. *Beach* pleads for, and lays such Strefs upon, as to make it *essential* to the very Being of the Gospel Church. As this is a Matter of Importance, and what Mr. *Beach* has spent a good Part of his Book upon, I shall consider it something largely; especially since he declares that “if this Point be once made “clear, the Controversy will be at an End” p. 4.



The Notion of an UNINTERRUPTED SUCCESSION in the Ministry, preserved in a Line of Bishops (as an Order superior to that of Presbyters) beginning at the Apostles, and continuing unbroken to the present Time; and of the Necessity of this to render Gospel Administrations valid and effectual, has been so often confuted, so handsomely exposed, and so generally given up by the most learned Part of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, that Mr. *Beach* had very good Reason for his Apprehensions, that “some People would reproach “the Doctrines he advanced [upon these Heads] by “calling them the *peculiar Tenets of HIGH-FLYERS*”. p. 45. And his transcribing from Bishop *Beveridge* will not prevent the Censure he was afraid of; for though we value the Bishop for his Piety, (which, by the Way, was built on *Calvinistic* Principles, and therefore would hardly have been so much commended by Mr. *Beach*, had it not been to serve a present Turn;) yet we know he was educated in an Age, when other absurd Notions besides this, such as the *Hereditary indefeasible Right of Kings*, the Doctrines of *Passive Obedience*, *Non-resistance* and the like, were at their Height: And he never was able entirely to shake off the Fetters which an unhappy Education had rivetted on his Mind. Of this he gave an Instance, when he refused the Bishoprick of *Bath and Wells*, because Dr. *Ken*, who was deprived and turned out of this See, for refusing the Oaths to King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, was yet living. † Had all the Clergy of the Church of *England* been fettered with these *highflying* Notions, as Dr. *Beveridge* was, the Revolution Government could never have stood its Ground, King *James* would have returned, and have established Popery and Slavery, and the Church of *England* would have been buried in the same Grave with the Civil Liberties of the Nation. But other Men knew better than Dr. *Beveridge*, they had Sense enough to despise these narrow Notions, and they had the honest Bold-

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† Hist. of K. *Wm.* v. 2. p. 255. *Wither's Truth Try'd*, p. 44.  
ness.



ness to act up to their Principles, and thereby saved the Nation as well as the Church from immediate Ruin. Of this Number were Dr. Tillotson, who accepted the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, tho' the former Incumbent was living; and Dr. Kidder, who under the same Circumstances accepted the Bishoprick of *Bath and Wells*, after Dr. Beveridge had refused it; on which Account their Memories will always be precious to all true Friends to the Civil and Religious Liberties of the Nation.

In treating this Subject, I shall consider---- The Nature or Notion of this Uninterrupted Succession Mr. *Beach* pleads for, ---- The Necessity of it, ---- The Evidence of the Fact, ---- and the Consequence of admitting the Necessity of it, when the Fact cannot be proved.

I. Let us consider the Nature of that Uninterrupted Succession which Mr. *Beach* makes essential to the Being of a valid Ministry. I the rather incline to consider this particularly, because I observe that some among you of a very moderate Degree of Understanding, and no Learning, who are so very unhappy as to think themselves possessed of a *Knack* at Disputing, make a great Noise upon this Subject, while they understand neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm. And indeed Mr. *Beach* himself seems to labour under some Confusion of Thought on this Head, and means sometimes one Thing, and sometimes another by the uninterrupted Succession he treats of, and so does but *darken Counsel by Words without Knowledge*.

Here then

1. The Succession Mr. *Beach* pleads for, can be preserved only in a *Line of Bishops*, considered as an Order superior to Presbyters by Divine Right. A Succession of Ministers, even tho' it were uninterrupted, will not satisfy Mr. *Beach*; because this may possibly have been kept up by a Course of Presbyterian Ordinations: And he speaks of "a Succession of Persons authorized from Christ to send others to act in his Name", and he



he will by no Means allow that Presbyters are thus authorized. The Persons therefore, thro' whom this Line runs, or in whom this Succession is preserved, must *every Man of them* have been Bishops, in the *Modern* Sense of the Word ; that is, they must have been Officers in the Church of Christ of an Order superior to that of Presbyters, or ordinary Ministers of the Gospel ; and this their Superiority they must have had by Divine Right, because they are joyned to the Apostles by this *Adamantine Chain*.

2. The Word *Succession* is not to be here taken in that large and general Sense, wherein it means only *coming after another, or taking his Place*. Kings are said to *succeed* one another, not only when the Son inherits his Father's Crown, but when it is disposed of to a remoter Relation by the Will of the last Possessor, and even when it goes to a Stranger, as is frequently the Case in Elective Kingdoms. So that Successions of this Kind admit of different Ways of introducing one Man into the Place of another. Now if such a Succession as this in the Ministry will satisfy Mr. *Beach*, we need not dispute about it. For we all allow, that Christ has had a Church in the World from the Times of the Apostles ; that there has always been a Ministry in this Church, or an Order of Men set apart to teach the Doctrines, enforce the Precepts, and administer the Sacraments of the Gospel, and to preside in the public Worship and Government of the Church ; and that these Ministers have *succeeded* or *come after* one another without Interruption, from the Apostolic Age to the present Time.

But

3. The Succession Mr. *Beach* pleads for, includes in it the Idea of *one certain and invariable Method* of Introduction into an Office, formerly possessed by another. This Succession implies that the Descent in this Line has been regular, in every Instance ; Or that *every particular Person*, thro' whom the Line runs, was *lawfully ordained* to the Office of a Bishop, and that by Impositi-

on:



on of the Hands of such as *were themselves lawful Bishops,*  
 or Officers by Divine Right superior to Presbyters. For  
 as according to Mr. *Beach's* Scheme, such Persons only  
 have the Power of Ordination, so if this has failed in a  
 single Instance, in the direct Line from the Apostles,  
 the Succession failed with it, and a new Succession was  
 at that Time begun.

This is the Succession Mr. *Beach* and his Authors con-  
 tend for. Bishop *Beveridge*, as he quotes him, describes  
 it thus, “ The *Apostolical Line* hath thro’ all Ages been  
 “ preserved entire, there having been a constant Succe-  
 “ sion of such Bishops---as were truly and properly Successors  
 “ to the Apostles, by virtue of that Apostolical Imposition  
 “ of Hands ; which being begun by the Apostles, hath  
 “ been continued from one to another, ever since their  
 “ Time, down to us. By which Means the same Spirit  
 “ which was breathed by our Lord into his Apostles,  
 “ is, together with their Office, transmitted to their  
 “ lawful Successors, the Pastors and Governours of our  
 “ Church at this Time”. p. 5. And Mr. *Beach* makes  
 a Succession in this particular Method indispensibly neces-  
 sary to the Validity of Gospel Administrations ; for he  
 says, “ if the Power was once lost, none could renew  
 “ it, or begin a new Succession, till Christ was pleased  
 “ to send new Apostles”. p. 6. And he thinks it has  
 been unanswerably argued by a Divine of yours, not  
 only that this Uninterrupted Succession has been con-  
 tinued in the Church, but that *there can be no Ministers of*  
*Christ without it.* p. 4. He makes a Minister’s Salvati-  
 on depend on his being within this Line of Succession,  
 for he fears that had he himself remained with us, he  
 should have *perished in the Gain saying of Core,* on the  
 Account of our not having this kind of Succession ; And  
 he represents this as being necessary to the Salvation of  
 the People, as well as the Minister ; for he thinks *their*  
 Acceptance with God does depend upon it. p. 8. And  
 his admired Bishop *Beveridge* calls this “ the Root of all  
 “ Christian Communion”, and makes it the only Way  
 in which Ministers can have any Right to the Spirit which  
 our



our Lord promised ; without which, altho' they preach their Hearts out, he does not see what spiritual Advantage can accrue to their Hearers. p. 46. This therefore is plainly the Sense in which my Antagonists understand the Succession they plead for ; and they make *this particular Kind* of Succession as absolutely and indispensibly necessary, as any one thing in the whole Christian Institution can be supposed ; for they hang the whole Weight of Men's eternal Salvation, as well as their present Comfort upon it. At least, they understand Succession in this Sense, when they plead for the Necessity of it ; tho' when they attempt to prove the Fact, they seem to understand it in that more general Sense mentioned under the last Head.

II. We are in the next Place to enquire, Whether the Gospel has made such a *particular Succession* as my Antagonists plead for, *essential* to the Character of a Christian Minister ?

God was pleased to make a *particular Kind of Succession* necessary to the *Jewish* Priesthood, and this *Moses* described in so exact and plain a Manner, and declared the Necessity of it in such express and positive Terms, that the *Jewish* Church might in all Ages certainly know it, and were not liable to Uncertainties and Doubts about it. None who read the Law, could be doubtful whether God had confined the Priesthood to the Family of *Aaron* ; and every one that claimed the Honour of the Priesthood, was obliged to prove that he was descended from *Aaron* in *that Way* which the Law made necessary. Now if it be the Will of God that such a particular Succession as has been described, should be essential to the Christian Ministry, or necessary to the Validity of Gospel Ordinances, we must suppose that this Succession is as plainly described, and as expressly instituted in the Gospel, as the other was in the *Levitical* Law : Otherwise we shall never be able to make out the Apostles Assertion, that Jesus Christ *was faithful to him*  
that



that appointed him, as also Moses was faithful in all his House \*.

But now is this the Case? Will Mr. *Beach*, or any of his Vouchers pretend that the uninterrupted Succession he contends for, is as expressly instituted, and as plainly described in the Gospel of Christ, as a Succession by Descent from *Aaron* was in the Law of *Moses*? If they will pretend to this, the Matter may be brought to a very short Issue: Let them produce as express a Grant of the Gospel Ministry to the Apostles, and their Successors by an uninterrupted Course of Episcopal Ordinations, as we can produce of the legal Priesthood to *Aaron*, and his Successors by Descent; let them shew us where God has as expressly forbidden any Man not ordained by a Bishop, who had an uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles, to officiate as a Gospel Minister, as we can shew them that he has forbidden any Man who was not of the Family of *Aaron*, to officiate as a Jewish Priest: Then, and not till then, shall we be obliged to grant that there is the same Necessity of the Episcopal Succession, they plead for, in the Christian Ministry, as there was of a legal Descent from *Aaron* in the Jewish Priesthood. Now they are so very far from being able to do this, that

I. They cannot produce any Divine Institution for such an Order of Officers in the Christian Church, as they say this Succession must be preserved in. We have already observed, that a Succession of the Ministry in general will not satisfy Mr. *Beach*: but it is a Succession in the particular Order of Bishops as superior to Presbyters, which his Scheme makes necessary. Now no Man has ever yet been able to produce a divine Institution of Bishops superior to Presbyters. The Dispute between Mr. *Wetmore* and me, on this Head, stands thus.

In my Sermon at Mr. *Welles's* Ordination, I considered Ministers under the Character of *Fellow-Labourers*;

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\* Heb. iii. 2.



one Instance of their being so, is their having *equal Authority*: That they were in this Sense Fellow-Labourers, I argued from the Commission Christ gave them, which makes all to whom it is given Officers of the same Order, or vests them all with equal Power and Authority. Mr. *Wetmore* in his *Vindication*, p. 13. allows that the Commission seems to make those equal, to whom it was immediately given, and says, "certainly it does not subject some unto any one of their Number:" But then he would have it that they might institute an Imparity among themselves; because *he could see no Clause in the Commission forbidding such a Thing*. I suppose I have said enough, in my former *Address*, to convince Mr. *Wetmore* of his Mistake in imagining, that a Man acting by Virtue of a Commission has Authority to do any particular Thing, which his Commission does not expressly forbid; and that I have sufficiently proved, that when Christ ascended into Heaven, he left only the *eleven* Apostles in Commission as Officers in the Gospel Church; and that these were all of *one Order*, and vested with the *same Authority*; and consequently that a perfect Parity did originally subsist among Gospel Ministers, or that they were at first all equal. I have Reason to suppose these Things sufficiently proved, because Mr. *Wetmore* has not pretended to answer what I said on these Heads.

Now if Christ, when he ascended into Heaven, left all his Ministers in a State of Equality, we must suppose that they ought always to continue so; unless he has by some *plain Declaration* of his Will, put an End to this Equality, which thus originally subsisted among them; and given some one or more of them Superiority, and Dominion over the rest. And since the Gospel Ministry originally consisted of a Number of Men, of equal Authority, it most evidently belongs to the Advocates for Imparity, to shew us *when and where* this original Constitution was changed, by an Authority equal to that by which it was at first ordained. The *Onus probandi* lies entirely upon them: And the Proof ought to be



be very full and clear ; for it certainly requires a very strong and solid Foundation to support such a lofty, towering Building as that of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*.

When Mr. *Wetmore* wrote his *Vindication*, he seems to have been sensible that the Proof lay upon him ; and he very readily undertook to produce Evidence in the Case. But it seems he does not find it so easy to prove this Point as he expected ; for, on my replying to the Proof he offered, he immediately tacks about, and would turn the Tables upon me. “ The Burthen of Proof in “ this Case (says he) ought in all Reason to lye upon “ the Dissenters from the Church”. *Append. p. 53.* And the Reason he gives for this, is, because an Inequality has for a long Time subsisted in the Church of Christ, and particularly in our Nation, and so “ has “ Possession to plead, and Prescription from Time im- “ memorial”. To this I reply, that if we lived within the Bounds of the Establishment, and so were properly Dissenters, it would be sufficient for us to prove that Parity was the *original Institution* ; and when we had proved this, our Cause would be justified, unless the Advocates for Prelacy would plead, and did prove that this original Constitution was afterwards changed by the same Authority that made it ; For this Institution of Christ, tho’ it has for a long Time been disregarded, may at any Time be pleaded ; and whenever it is so, it ought to be allowed, unless it appears that he has been pleased to repeal or change it. Now if this would be sufficient to justify us, even if we did dissent from a legal Establishment ; surely Mr. *Wetmore* cannot demand more of us now we have proved, that the Episcopal Establishment does not extend to us. He must therefore allow me to look upon his Attempt to cast the labouring Oar out of his Hand, as a tacit Acknowledgment that he does not find himself able to use it to any good Purpose.

However, that he might not appear to give up the Cause, Mr. *Wetmore* has made some Attempt (tho’ but a feeble one) to justify his former Arguments, against



the Remarks I made upon them. His first Proof, that the Apostles appointed an Imparity in the Ministry, is taken from their instituting the order of *Deacons*. To this I answered before, that the Office of a Deacon is no Part of the Ministry properly so called; and shewed, from the Account given of erecting this Office in the Church, and the Occasion and Design of it, that Deacons were appointed not to preach the Gospel, or administer the Sacraments, but to *serve Tables*. And after all Mr. *Wetmore* has now said on this Subject, I only desire my Reader to turn to the *sixth* Chapter of the *Acts*, where he will find full Proof of what I have asserted. And Mr. *Wetmore* may, if he pleases, turn to the 32d. Canon of the Church of *England*, where he will find these Words, "The Office of Deacon being a Step or Degree to the Ministry" &c. by which the Church distinguishes between the *Office of Deacon* and the *Ministry* properly so called, and makes the former a *Step or Degree* by which a Man ascends to the latter.

The other Proof Mr. *Wetmore* produced for Imparity in the Ministry, is, 1 Corinth. xii. 28, 29. *God hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, secondarily Prophets, thirdly Teachers, after that Miracles, then Gifts of Healings, Helps, Governments, Diversities of Tongues. Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Are all Workers of Miracles? Have all the Gifts of Healing? Do all speak with Tongues? Do all interpret?* I will not imitate Mr. *Wetmore* so much as to charge him with perverting the Text; but I cannot help observing that he don't quote it fairly. He uses this Text both in his *Vindication*, and in his *Appendix* to Mr. *Beach*, and in both he omits *Miracles*, and *Gifts of Healing*, which stand in the Text between *Teachers* and *Helps*, and this he has done without giving the least Notice of such an Omission. I took no Notice of this before, supposing it might have been accidental; but as he quotes the Text again in the same Manner, it looks like a Design. And indeed had he honestly set down the Words of the Text, as they stand in his Bible, it would have been evident at first

Sight,



Sight, that the Supposition of the Apostle's here reckoning up the different Orders in the Gospel Ministry, would destroy his Scheme as well as mine. I suppose but *one Order* in the Gospel Ministry, and Mr. *Wetmore* allows but *three*: But if all the Particulars enumerated in this Text, mean *distinct Orders* in the Ministry, there must be no less than *eight Orders*; almost *three times* so many as Mr. *Wetmore* has Occasion for. But the omitting some of them, when he was reciting the Text, made it look a little more favourable on his Side. But after all, the Question here to be resolved, is, Whom does St. Paul speak of, when he says, *Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? &c.* Does he mean *all Ministers*, or *all Christians*? I gave some Reasons in my former, why I supposed him speaking of Christians, or Members of the Church in general. And tho' Mr. *Wetmore* must have been sensible, that this, if admitted, would effectually destroy all he had said upon this Text, yet he has not attempted to answer these Reasons; and so he has left me at full Liberty to conclude that this Text says nothing of Imparity among Ministers.

To the Texts he had mentioned before, as proving an Imparity in the Ministry, Mr. *Wetmore* has now added *Philem. ver. 24.* Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas, *My Fellow-Labourers.* And he argues thus upon it, "*Mou-synergoi, ---- Mou is --- the genitive Case possessive, and so must denote St. Paul's Dominion and Sovereignty, at least Prelatical Power over those Ministers here called Fellow-Labourers, i. e. joined together in a Fellowship of Service, and Attendance upon St. Paul their Bishop*". *Append. p. 55.* Omitting all other Remarks upon this *learned Criticism*, I will only say, that it was something unhappy that the Gentleman had not an Opportunity of consulting some Friend, who was so well acquainted with the *Greek Language* as to be able to inform him, that the Word *Mou* is the genitive Case of the Pronoun primitive, and is used to avoid using the *possessive Pronoun*.

The Controversy between Mr. *Wetmore* and me upon  
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on this Subject, turns out thus : I have proved that all Ministers of the Gospel were *originally* of *one Order* and of *equal Authority* ; Mr. *Wetmore* undertook to prove, that this *original* Constitution was afterwards changed, and an Imparity introduced into the Ministry, by the Apostles acting under Inspiration. But his Evidence fails him, and he is utterly unable to make good his Plea : and therefore all unprejudiced Persons will judge, that the original Institution, which makes all Ministers equal, stands unrepealed and in full Force. How Mr. *Wetmore* and his Brethren will answer their having degraded themselves from this Office, and incapacitated themselves for the Discharge of some of the important Duties of it, by taking the Oath of Canonical Obedience, and a Licence to preach, and so calling the Bishop Master, and making themselves his Substitutes or Curates, instead of being Christ's Ministers, it concerns them to consider. But if there be no *Divine Institution* of Bishops, as an Order of Ministers superior to Presbyters, tis evident that there can be no Necessity of a Succession in this Order ; for let this Order come into the Church how or when it will, even if it was as early as Mr. *Dodwell* pretends, who dates the beginning of Episcopacy *Anno Dom.* 106 † ; yet if there be no Divine Institution of it, there can be no Necessity of a Succession in it : And consequently *that Kind* of Succession which Mr. *Beach* makes the Validity of all Gospel Administrations to depend upon, is not necessary.

Again

2. Those Texts which are commonly produced to prove the Necessity of this Uninterrupted Succession, do really say Nothing about it. The Advocates for the Necessity of this Uninterrupted Succession commonly quote Heb. v. 4. *No Man taketh this Honour to himself, but he that is called of God as was Aaron*, as a Text that makes much for their Cause : But it is really nothing to the Purpose. If every Gospel Minister must

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† Parœn. p. 102. Vid. *Anderson's Defence*, p. 97.



be called of God *in the same Way* as *Aaron* was, there is no Room for any Succession at all, but every particular Minister of the Gospel must have an immediate Call; for such 'tis certain *Aaron's* was. Or if by being called of God *as was Aaron*, we understand being introduced into the Gospel Ministry *by the same Right* or *in the same Way* as *Aaron's* Successors were into the Priesthood, the Consequence will be that no Man can be a lawful Minister of the Gospel, unless he be a Son or Descendant of some one of the Apostles.

But the Truth is, this Text says nothing at all about the Gospel Ministry, but only about the personal Priesthood of our Lord Jesus Christ. This is justly and strongly argued by Mr. Sykes a learned Writer of the Church of *England*, whose Words I shall transcribe on this Occasion. " 'Tis spoke of Christ *alone*, and relates  
 " *wholly* to the Excellency of his Priesthood. The  
 " Author is shewing that the Priesthood of Jesus Christ  
 " is no Ways inferior to that of *Aaron*: And argues,  
 " that *no Man* taketh the Honour, viz. of being an *High-*  
 " *Priest*, to offer both Gifts and Sacrifices for Sin, but  
 " the Persons pitched upon, under the Law, *Aaron* and  
 " his Sons, and under the Gospel Christ our great pro-  
 " pitiatory Sacrifice and High Priest, *called of God* for  
 " that Purpose." And after arguing this from the  
 Connexion and Tenor of the Apostle's Reasoning, he  
 says, " This Passage therefore being applied to Jesus  
 " Christ, and designed to shew the *greater Dignity* of  
 " *Him* and *his Priesthood*, than was that of *Aaron* and  
 " the *Aaronical Priesthood*, what Relation can it possibly  
 " have to other Persons, who have not, nor can pre-  
 " tend to have the Honour to be *called of God as was*  
 " *Aaron*?" \* If it be pretended that though this Text  
 says nothing directly about the Christian Ministry, yet  
 we may argue from it by Way of Analogy, and that  
 there is by Parity of Reason a Necessity of a Gospel  
 Minister's being called of God as the legal Ministers  
 were: The same Author replies, " The Apostle being

\* Answer to Rogers, p. 80.

" speaking.



“ speaking of *Hiereis, Sacrificers, Priests* particularly ap-  
 “ pointed to offer Sacrifices, supposing that *such Priests*  
 “ could not act but by an immediate [Commission] or  
 “ uninterrupted Succession, yet what has that to do,  
 “ or what Relation has it with Persons who are not to  
 “ offer Sacrifices ?” †

Another Text usually produced on this Occasion, is *John xx. 21. As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you.* Mr. Beach seems to suppose that this Text is very much in his Favour ; accordingly he recommends it to the serious Consideration of the Candidates for the sacred Ministry, and says, it implies “ that as his Fa-  
 “ ther had sent him *with Authority to send others*, so  
 “ he gave them *Power to ordain Successors.*” p. 21. To which I reply, Nobody denies the Apostle’s having sufficient Authority to erect the Christian Church, and to provide for the Continuance of it, and of every Thing necessary to the Well-being of it : But yet, neither the *Extent* of their Authority, nor the *particular Method* in which a Succession of Ministers was to be continued, can with any Certainty be argued from this Text. The *Papists* say, that as the Father sent Christ to offer his own Body as an Expiatory Sacrifice for Sin ; so Christ sent his Apostles and their Successors *with Authority to offer up to God the very same Body* as a proper Propitiatory Sacrifice : And upon this they build the *Sacrifice of the Mass*, and the Authority of the Priest to offer it. But you will say, there is nothing of this in the Text itself ; I reply, just as much as there is of uninterrupted Succession. There is nothing in this Text that fixes the Comparison between Christ’s Mission, and the Mission of his Apostles to the particular Instance of *Authority to send others* : And the Popish Authors have as much Right to fix upon the *Authority of offering a Propitiatory Sacrifice*, as the Point wherein this Comparison is designed to hold, as Mr. Beach has to fix upon that of “ *Power to ordain Successors.*”

There is one Text more in the New-Testament,

† p. 81.



often used to prove the Necessity of an uninterrupted Succession in the Christian Ministry, and that is, *Matt. xxviii. 20. Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the End of the World.* This Text Mr. Beach triumphs in, as a full Proof, “ that the Succession has continued in all “ past Ages, and will continue to the End of the “ World.” p. 6. And he argues thus upon it, “ tho’ “ Peter, James, and John are dead, yet the Apostles “ never die ; if there ever was a Time when they “ were all dead, Christ could not be with them al- “ ways, to the End of the World.” But Mr. Beach must see that this Text is nothing to his Purpose, if he will but reflect that his Business was to prove, that Christ has made an uninterrupted Course of Ordinations, performed by Imposition of the Hands of Bishops, essentially necessary to the Continuance of a valid Ministry in his Church. Now here is not a Word said about the *Right of Succession*, or the *Method of introducing* others into the Ministry. This Text does not determine, whether the Apostles should ordain Successors while they themselves lived, or appoint them by their last Wills, or be succeeded by their own Sons, as the Priests were, under the Law. A Succession in the Ministry might have been perpetuated in either of these Ways, or in diverse others. And which soever of them was designed, the Promise might very pertinently be annexed in the very Terms in which it is here expressed. In a Word, this Text will prove that a standing Ministry is an Ordinance of Christ : But it says Nothing at all *how* or *in what Method* Persons should be introduced into the Ministry ; and consequently it proves no Necessity of such an Uninterrupted Succession.

Possibly Mr. Beach may be ready to cry out, if the Case be thus, “ for my Part, I will not give a Rush “ for Episcopal or Presbyterian Ordination ; but shall “ esteem a *New-Light* Exhorter, or a *Quaker* Preacher, “ as really a Minister of Christ, as any Bishop in *En- “ gland.*” p. 8. In answer to this, I would observe, That the Apostles did in Fact introduce other Persons  
into



into the Ministry by Ordination, in which they used the solemn Rite of Imposition of Hands : And we have no Instance in the new Testament of any Persons laying on Hands in Ordination, who was not himself a Minister of the Gospel. Now the Practice of the inspired Apostles and other Ministers in this Case, recorded in the New Testament, is a good Rule to the Church in all after Ages. This plainly points out to us the *proper* and *regular* Method of Introduction into the Ministry ; and so far *authorizes* and *establisches* this Method, as to make it *disorderly* and *sinful* to depart from it. This is sufficient to condemn the *New-Light* Separatists with their lay Ordinations, which Mr. *Beach* thinks to scare us with. These *disorderly Walkers* have Reason to expect that Christ, instead of owning them as his Ministers, will reject and condemn them for acting contrary to his Will, discovered by the Practice and Example of his Apostles, which he caused to be recorded for the Instruction of his Church in all Ages. And the Direction given to the Churches of Christ, with Regard to such disorderly and irregular Persons, is not to Countenance, own, or receive them, but on the Contrary, to discountenance and censure them, 2 *Thess.* iii. 6. Now we command you, Brethren, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every Brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the Tradition which he received of us.

Upon the Whole, to make Ordination, meaning thereby Imposition of Commissionated Hands, *Necessary* in Point of Order, is a different Thing from making it *essential* to the Ministerial Character. Nothing short of *express* and *positive* Words of Institution, can justify us in making it *essential* to the Character of a Gospel Minister ; and these are not to be found in the New Testament : But a Necessity in Point of Regularity may justly be inferred from the Examples on sacred Record. This kind of Necessity is sufficient to answer all the Intentions of Order, and Regularity in the visible Kingdom of the Redeemer, and to condemn all disorderly Intruders



ders into the sacred Office. And yet it will not from hence follow, as it does from Mr. *Beach's* Scheme, that if the Succession be once broken, no Man has Power to renew it, and therefore 'tis impossible there should be any valid Ministry, or any effectual Administration of Ordinances; but the instituted Means of Grace must become utterly ineffectual, and cannot possibly any longer answer the Ends for which they were appointed. A Principle which directly tends to fill the Minds of men with distressing Scruples, and to put them upon renouncing the Christian Religion; as I shall have Occasion to shew, when I come to treat of the Consequences of Mr. *Beach's* Notion. In the mean time I would observe, that my Notion of Ordination is agreeable to the Opinion of the *English* Reformers, and to the established Doctrine of the Church of *England*, which, without mentioning Uninterrupted Succession as necessary in the Case, says, "Those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this Work by Men who have publick Authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's Vineyard".† To which I will only add, that Archbishop *Laud* himself would not allow the Necessity of an Uninterrupted Succession. His Words, as I find them quoted by a Clergyman of the Church of *England*, are these, "For Succession in the general I shall only say this, 'Tis a great Happiness where it may be had visible and continued; and a great Conquest over the Mutability of this present World. But I do not find any one of the ancient Fathers that makes local, personal, visible and a CONTINUED SUCCESSION, a Necessary Sign or Mark of the true Church in any one Place".‡ This Authority I hope will have some Weight with my Antagonists, who have such a vast Veneration, for the Archbishop, and I suppose don't desire to be tho't higher Churchmen than he was.

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Having

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† Article xxiii.

‡ Vid. *Lewis's* Remarks on *Bisse's* Sermons. p. 54.



Having thus examined the Necessity of that Kind of Succession Mr. *Beach* pleads for, I shall be under no uneasy Apprehensions, if it shall be found upon Enquiry, that no such Succession has in Fact been preserved; or, which amounts to the very same Thing, that there is no full and clear Evidence of it (for in this Case, *what does not appear, is not.*) I am very sure Christ has not made this Uninterrupted Succession essential to the Ministerial Character, and therefore I doubt not that the Intentions of all his wise and gracious Institutions may be well enough answered without it.

This brings me

III. To enquire into the Evidence produced, to prove that an Uninterrupted Succession, in a Line of lawfully consecrated Bishops, reaching from the Apostles to this Time, has in Fact been preserved in the Church of Christ, and that the *English* Bishops in particular are within this Line.

We have already seen what an amazing Stress is laid upon this Succession, it is said to be “the *Root of all Christian Communion*”; the Validity and Effect of the Ministry and Ordinances of the Gospel are represented as absolutely depending upon it; 'tis made the Foundation of all our Hopes of Acceptance with God, and of our Title to the eternal Enjoyment of Him. If what the High Church Writers say upon this Subject be true, I really think it will follow, that if it should at last turn out that there has been a Breach in this Line, such an one as might possibly have been discovered, an honest Heathen is more likely to be accepted of God at last, than a professed Christian of the most unblameable moral Behaviour. Mr. *Beach* (if I am rightly informed) has advised People rather to live without the Ordinances of the Gospel, than to receive them from a Minister that is not within this Line of Uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles. I conclude therefore, that he thinks a Man is more likely to obtain Salvation, without the use of the means of Grace which the Gospel has appointed, than by using them in such a Communion wherein



wherein he knows, or has good Reason to suspect that this Uninterrupted Succession has not been preserved. I will now put a Case which I believe is Fact, and you must own it at least supposeable, and may for ought you know be certain, I will suppose that the Episcopal Line from the present Bishop of *London*, (for Instance) upward, will fail before we come to any one of the Apostles. In this Case you are, upon these Principles, in a worse Condition and further from the Approbation of God, than if you had never pretended to attend any Gospel Ordinance, and even in a worse State than the Heathen; for it is not only true that what you attended as Ordinances of divine Institution, were really no Ordinances at all, because he from whose Hand you received them was not a lawful Minister; but even that they were Acts of High Treason against the awful Majesty of God, or a counterfeiting his Seal. \* So that in this Case you cannot expect Acceptance with God in the Way of the Covenant of Grace, but must depend equally with the Heathen upon uncovenanted Mercy; and besides have the awful Crime above-mentioned to answer for, which the Heathen who have no Notion of a new Covenant, or the Seals of it, cannot be charged with. You may possibly think that your not knowing there was any Breach in the Succession will excuse you: But to this I Reply, if “there can be no true Ministers of Christ without an Uninterrupted Succession,” it will follow that, upon the Supposition of an Interruption in the Line of the Bishop by whom he was ordained, Mr. *Beach* is no true Minister of Christ; and your supposing he is, cannot make him one; for your Mistakes will not alter the Nature of Things: And therefore the Ordinances administered by him cannot be Seals of the Covenant of Grace, nor intitle you to any of its Promises. And besides, if God has made the Episcopal Succession so necessary as is pretended, he has made it your Duty to seek after and

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\* *Vid. Discourse concerning Episcopacy, (Sold by J. Checkley) p. 100.* enquire



enquire into the Evidences of it's having been preserved entire ; and if instead of this, you have presumed upon it, and taken it for granted, your Ignorance itself is criminal ; and surely you can't expect that one Sin will be admitted as an Excuse for another. Since therefore this is, upon your Principles, a Point of such awful Importance, I hope you will all joyn with me in requiring and insisting upon positive and full Evidence of the Fact.

One of the principal Things Mr. *Beach* undertook to prove, was, That "*the Succession in the Church of England has never been interrupted*". p. 4. But has he proved it ? He has quoted Bishop *Beveridge's* Assertion that "you in your Church, by a successive Imposition of Hands continued all along from the Apostles themselves, receive the same Spirit that was conferred upon them" p. 6. But if we observe to him, that tho' the Bishop asserts that your Succession is Uninterrupted, yet he does not prove it ; Mr. *Beach* allows the Fact ; for he says, "I answer, there is no Occasion of his proving it". How astonishing is this ! What, are we to be taught that our Acceptance with God, and Title to Eternal Life depend on this Succession's being found and entire, and yet told that there is no Occasion of proving that it is so ? If such an important Thing as Mr. *Beach* makes this, does not require clear, full and unexceptionable Proof, I confess I do not know any Thing that does ; and at this Rate we may lay aside the Use of Evidence in all Cases, and forever act upon Probabilities, Presumptions or an implicit Faith.

Mr. *Beach* thinks we carry the Matter too far, when we demand Evidence, "that not only the Bishop who ordained him, was himself lawfully authorized to do so, but likewise the Bishop that ordained him, and so on till we come to the Apostles, and that not one of those eighty or perhaps an hundred Bishops, thro' which the Line should run up to the Apostles, had any such Defect as might render him incapable of being a true Bishop." p. 7. But why should he think



think this an unreasonable Demand ? If there was in Fact such a Defect in any one Person in this Line, the Succession is really broken ; and “ if the Power was “ once lost, none could renew it, or begin a new Succession, ’till Christ was pleased to send new Apostles.” p. 6. Now if the Validity of all Mr. Beach’s Administrations does absolutely depend upon the Supposition, that there has in Fact been no such Defect in any one of those Bishops, he is obliged to produce Proof that each one of them was lawfully ordained. Every Man that would be owned in the Character of a Gospel Minister, is obliged in Reason to prove, that he has that which his own Principles make the Essence of that Character to consist in. For Instance, If an *Enthusiast* tells me that no Man can be a lawful Minister of Christ, unless he be *immediately* called and sent of God, and yet pretends to be himself a Minister ; I demand of him Proof that he has this *extraordinary Mission*, and if he can’t prove it by Miracles, which are the proper Evidences of an *immediate Call* ; I shall look upon the Man as an Impostor. Just so, if Mr. Beach tells me, that it is essential to the Ministerial Character, that a Man be ordained by a Bishop who derived his Authority from Christ, in the Way of Uninterrupted Succession from an Apostle ; and yet professes himself a Minister of the Gospel ; I demand Proof, that the Line between the Bishop by whom he was ordained, and some one of the Apostles, is entire and unbroken. And if Mr. Beach is unable to produce full and positive Proof in this Case, he must excuse me, if I think he appears in as contemptible a Figure, as the *Enthusiast* does in the Case mentioned above.

The *Jewish* Priests were obliged to produce Proof of what the Law made essential to the *Sacerdotal Character*, and were not admitted to the Exercise of their Office without it. The only Reason why Mr. Beach doubts this, is, because he supposes something essential to that Character, which the Law itself never made so ; I mean a Man’s being in a strict Sense *lawfully begotten*.

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The Author of the Clergyman's *Vade mecum* carries this to its utmost Height, when he says, as Mr. *Beach* quotes him, "The Right that any Priest or Levite had to his Office, depended on the Honesty of a Woman, and upon an Action performed in the Dark." p. 22. Now I readily agree with Mr. *Beach* that "no one of those Priests could prove, that in so many Generations none of their Progenitors had been begotten in Adultery by one of another Tribe." p. 7. But when he adds, "yet so long as it did not, and could not appear, this base Begotten Person, and all his Descendants were true Ministers of God's Sanctuary," he appears to me, to contradict his *Vade mecum*. For if the Right any Priest had to his Office, did depend "upon the honesty of a Woman," a base begotten Person must be destitute of all Right to the Priest's Office; and to be "a true Minister of God's Sanctuary," and yet destitute of all Right to officiate therein, is I think, a palpable Contradiction. But if Mr. *Beach* contradicts the Author of *Vade mecum*, in supposing a Priest begotten in secret Adultery, a true Minister of God's Sanctuary, I believe however that this Notion does not at all contradict the Levitical Law. For I don't find that this makes a Person's being lawfully begotten essential to the Sacerdotal Character, or makes the Priest's Right to his Office depend on the Honesty of his Mother.

The Priesthood was granted to *Aaron* and his Family: God expressly commanded *Moses* to anoint *Aaron* and his Sons, that they might Minister unto him in the Priest's Office; and gave this Reason for it, *For their Anointing shall surely be an everlasting Priesthood, throughout their Generations* †. When *Moses* executed this Order, it was impossible he should certainly know (without a particular Revelation, which we have no Reason to suppose in the Case) that *Aaron's* Wife was an honest Woman: But he knew that the Men he anointed as *Aaron's* Sons were legally so; and without any other

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† *Exod.* xl. 15.



Knowledge in the Case, he was ordered to anoint them. And so in all succeeding Generations, it was a *legal* and not strictly *natural* Descent from *Aaron* that was esteemed essential to the Character of a Priest. The Expressions used in the Law, to denote the Relation future Priests should stand in to *Aaron*, such as *Sons*, *Seed*, *Posterity* and the like, are all of them capable of this Sense; and it is necessary to understand them thus, because otherwise it would have been impossible to observe the Law. And that this was the Sense wherein the Jewish Church understood the Law, is evident from an Instance recorded in Scripture. When the Jews returned from the Babylonish Captivity, the Priests, in order to their being admitted to execute their Office, were obliged to produce positive Proof of their having what the Law made essential to the Sacerdotal Character; or that they were the Seed of *Aaron*. And those that could not do this, were not allowed to execute the Priest's Office; the Text says of them, *These sought their Register among those that were reckoned by Genealogy, but they were not found: Therefore were they, as polluted, put from the Priesthood* \*. These Men, in order to shew that they were *Aaron's* Seed, did not attempt to prove that their Female Ancestors were all honest Women, nor was any such Proof required of them; but they *sought their Register among them that were reckoned by Genealogy*. They appealed to authentick Registers to prove their Descent from *Aaron*, and they were put from the Priesthood because they could not prove it in this Way. Now the most authentick Registers prove only a *legal* Descent of the Son from the Father. If therefore the Jewish Church, under the Direction of *Ezra*, would admit a Man to execute the Priest's Office on his proving himself *legally* descended from *Aaron*; we must suppose that it was *only* a legal Descent from him, which the Law made essential to the Character of a Priest. Mr. *Beach* and his Voucher must therefore be mistaken, when they say, the Right any Priest had to his Office,

\* *Ezra* ii. 62.

“ depended



“ depended on the Honesty of a Woman, and upon  
“ an Action performed in the Dark.” The divine  
Law did not leave Things at such an Uncertainty ;  
but laid the Stress in this Case, on that which admitted  
of legal Proof. Thus then, the Priests under the Law,  
were at all Times, able to produce positive and legal  
Proof of *such a Descent from Aaron*, as the Law made  
necessary, or essential to the Character of a Priest. This  
they could do in all Ages of the Jewish Church ; thus,  
for Instance, there was as full and legal Proof, that  
*John the Baptist* was descended from *Aaron*, as there  
was, that *Jesus Christ* was of the Family of *David*. For  
the authentick Registers of the Sacerdotal Family were  
kept among the Jews as long, and with as great Care  
as those of the Royal Family ; though since they are  
of no Importance to us, they are not recorded in the  
New Testament. And therefore, the Jewish Priests  
were never reduced to such a pitiful Shift, as to be  
obliged to plead, as another Sett of Men who call them-  
selves Priests, are forced to do, “ We are in Possession,  
“ and no Man on Earth can shew any Flaw or Defect  
“ in our Claim.” p. 6. This Plea, I suppose, was never  
made, ’till Men, to maintain a Party, had run into the  
Absurdity of placing the Essence of the Ministerial  
Character, in a Thing not capable of positive and satis-  
factory Proof. Then indeed it was Time to make some  
such Plea as this, because the Case did not admit of  
any Thing else. But now, ask these Gentlemen, what  
they are in Possession of : If they reply, This Uninter-  
rupted Succession, they in the most barefaced Manner,  
beg the Question : If they say they “ are in Possession”  
of the Ministerial Office, this means no more than that  
they do in Fact perform those Actions which peculi-  
arly belong to Gospel Ministers ; now if a Man’s being  
thus in Possession will excuse him from shewing that he  
has a Right to exercise this Office, if he may say, I  
am in Possession, and you can’t shew a Defect in my  
Claim ; any Man who is bold and wicked enough to  
set up for a Minister of his own Head, and to pretend  
that



that God has immediately sent him, must for ought I see be acknowledged not only for a lawful Minister, but for one sent of God in an extraordinary Way: For if Mr. *Beach* must in this Case prove the negative, or shew that God has not appeared to this Man, and given him Orders to discharge the Office of a Gospel Minister, he may happen to find himself engaged in a difficult Piece of Work.

I hope Mr. *Beach* is by this Time convinced, that neither his Pretence of being in Possession, nor what he says of the Priesthood under the Law, will help his Cause; or excuse him from a Necessity of producing full and positive Evidence, of the Uninterrupted Succession he holds to be necessary. And when he produces as full Proof that the Bishop by whom he was ordained, did descend from one of the Apostles in that Way of Uninterrupted Succession, which Bishop *Beveridge* and he have described and made necessary, as a Jewish Priest could produce that he was descended from *Aaron*, in that Way of Descent which the Law made necessary, I will acknowledge him as a lawful Minister of Christ; but till he does this, I must look upon him as being destitute of what he himself supposes essential to the Character of a lawful Minister. I hope therefore, if Mr. *Beach* ever writes again on this Controversy (and I am told he is determined to have the last Word) he will think that there is very great Occasion to prove this Fact, and accordingly will produce the best Evidence he can find in Support of it.

It will by no means satisfy us to be told, that “ The  
“ present Arch Bishop of *Canterbury* is the seventy-third  
“ who has sat in that See since *Austin* the Monk, who  
“ was ordained by *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome*, in the Year  
“ 600 after Christ, long before that Church had sunk  
“ into that corrupt and degenerate State, in which it  
“ now is. And it is easy to give an authentick Cata-  
“ logue of all the Bishops thro’ whom the Line runs  
“ till it comes up to an Apostle”. p. 7. This I say  
will not answer, and that not only because the Facts are



at best very disputable, but principally because, if we admit all the Facts, they really prove nothing to the Purpose. Such a Catalogue as he speaks of, allowing it to be authentic, will indeed prove a Succession in the large and general Sense of the Word; that is, it will show that there has always been a Ministry in the Christian Church, and that this has been maintained by a Number of Persons *succeeding* or *coming after* one another: But it will no more prove the *particular Kind* of Succession we dispute, than a bare List of the Names of the Kings of *England* from the *Norman Conquest* will prove, that each of them came to the Crown by Right of Primogeniture. Such a Catalogue will not prove, that the Persons, named in it, all of them so much as pretended to be *Bishops*, considered as an Order superior to Presbyters; or if this were supposed, it will in no Measure prove that each of them was *lawfully introduced* into this Office, or *Canonically consecrated*; which is the very Point, on the Proof of which every Thing depends. Mr. *Beach* I suppose knows that the *Translation* of a Bishop, or removing him from one Bishoprick to another, was not allowed of in the first Ages of the Church, but when any Bishop died he was succeeded by a Man that was not a Bishop before: And therefore in many Ages, thro' which this Line must run, the Successor was not consecrated till after the Death of his immediate Predecessor. And since Translations have been allowed, it frequently happens that one who was not a Bishop before is appointed to fill the vacant See; or if some Bishop be translated to it, yet it is very often such an one in whose Consecration the Predecessor had no Hand. So that upon the Whole, there is no Connexion to be depended upon between the Consecrations of two Bishops, whose Names stand next one another in such a Catalogue as Mr *Beach* speaks of. The former might, for any Thing the Catalogue proves, be a *lawful Bishop*, and the latter a *mere Usurper* of the sacred Office, one that had only a *Leather-Mitten* Ordination, or a *Nag's-Head* Consecration.



If we consider the present State of the Church of *England* in particular, there is nothing more certain than that the Succession, instead of being *clear* and *undoubted*, as my Antagonists confidently assert, is really a most *perplexed*, *uncertain* and *disputed* Thing. This I observed in my former *Address*, and after all Mr. *Beach* has said in Reply, I really think, tho' perhaps it will give him "a contemptible Notion of my Understanding," that I have fully proved it. Mr. *Beach* for his Part "seriously professes, that till he comes to see with  
 "other Eyes, and to judge with another kind of Reason than that God has given him, he cannot think  
 "that I have, even in the least Degree, proved my  
 "Point". p. 12: But the Reason of his forming this Judgment is, not because God has not given him Eyes to see with, but because he does not use them. Eyes less sharp-sighted than Mr. *Beach's*, had they been honestly used, would have discovered that what I directly undertook to prove, was, not "That the Succession  
 "in the Church of *England* has been broken, and the  
 "Power lost at three several Times"; p. 8. but that the Succession was not *clear* and *indisputable*, but on the contrary, as *really disputed* and as *absolutely denied* as our Ordinations are. These are the very Terms I used both in the Introduction and in the Conclusion of my Argument on this Head. I was answering the Plea some of you make, that you forsook our Communion, because our Ordinations were doubtful and disputed, and I introduced the Argument Mr. *Beach* refers to, with these Words, "This can't possibly excuse your for-  
 "saking us, and joining with the Church of *England*,  
 "because the Succession of the Ministry in that Church  
 "is full as *disputable* as you can pretend to make it with  
 "us. There would have been some Consistency in  
 "your Pretence of forsaking us for Want of a regular  
 "Succession in the Ministry, if you could have found  
 "and had embraced a Communion in which the Succession was *clear* and *undisputed* ---- I am sure the Succession in the Church of *England* is very much disput-  
 "ed.



“ed” †. And I concluded the Argument thus, “This  
 “must I think convince you, that you are far from  
 “getting clear of *disputed* Ordinations, by leaving us  
 “and joining with the Church of *England*. Their Or-  
 “dinations are in Fact as *really disputed*; and as absolute-  
 “ly denied as ours” ‡. When I had thus expressed  
 myself, both in stating the Argument, and in applying  
 it, it was very disingenuous in Mr. *Beach*, to represent  
 me as undertaking to prove a very different Thing, and  
 then to triumph over me, because I had not proved,  
 what indeed I did not take upon myself the Proof of.  
 It is one of the easiest Ways of gaining a *seeming* Ad-  
 vantage over an Adversary, to represent him as under-  
 taking to prove what he never intended, and then to  
 observe, that he has not proved his Point: But it is not  
*Honest*, nor indeed is it *Politick*, unless a Man is pretty  
 well assured, that his Antagonist will not write again.  
 This would naturally lead me to return Mr. *Beach* the  
*Advice* he has given me, p. 43. But as his Words con-  
 tain a very *ungenerous* and *base* Insinuation, and as I  
 don’t chuse to *render evil for evil*, I will not repeat them.

I will now review the Instances mentioned in my  
 former, and see whether they do not fully prove the  
 Point for which I produced them, even that the Mini-  
 sterial Succession in the Church of *England*, instead of  
 being clear and undoubted, is very much disputed, and,  
 upon the Principles of my Atagonists really doubtful.  
 The first Instance I mentioned, happened about three  
 score Years ago, at the Time of the happy Revolution;  
 when the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Me-  
 tropolitan of all *England*, and five other Bishops, were  
 deprived or *turned out of their Offices* in one Day, by  
 an Act of Parliament. These Bishops, with their Ad-  
 herents, denied the Authority by which they were de-  
 prived, and therefore some of them continued to exer-  
 cise their Offices. When one of them died, the rest  
 ordained another in his Room; and thus a Succession

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† *Serious Address*, p. 116. ‡ p. 123.



has been kept up in that Line, in Opposition to the Succession under which your Ministers claim. That the Nonjurors, or those that adhere to these deprived Bishops, and their Successors, deny the Validity of Ordinations, performed in the Church of *England*, look upon the present Bishops as unauthorized Usurpers of the sacred Office, and esteem you in a State of damnable Schism for adhering to them, Mr. *Beach*, if he is at all acquainted with the Controversy, will not deny. Dr. *Calamy* says of the Nonjurors, “ Those of the Clergy “ that refused to take the Oaths, called those who fell “ in with the Government *Schismatics*. --- They accu- “ sed those of their own Church, whom they were “ separating from, of --- *setting up Anti-bishops* : Nay “ some did not stick to declare, that they were *out “ of the Church*, and that there was *no Salvation* to be “ had among them in the ordinary Way.” \* They went so far as to add a new Form of Prayer to the Liturgy, in which were these remarkable Expressions, “ Restore us again the publick Worship of thy Name, “ the reverent Administration of thy Sacraments ; “ raise up the former Government, both in Church and “ State, that we may no longer be without King, “ *without Priest, without God in the World.*” † Now if the Fact be so, all the World must allow that the Consequence is just, even that your Ordinations are *as really denied* as ours are, and that you have not got rid of disputed Ordinations, by forsaking us, and joining with the Church of *England*.

Mr. *Beach* here asserts, that “ these same deprived “ Bishops were as truly Bishops, when deprived, as “ before ;” and says, that “ the Parliament did not intend to unmake them,” p. 9. Now if it be true, which he also says, that putting him to Death, is the only Way wherein the Civil Magistrate can *unmake a Bishop*, he is doubtless in the Right of it ; for the Act says nothing about putting them to Death : But if *depriving*

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\* *Abridgment*, Vol. I. p. 486. † *Ibid.* p. 487.



him of his Office, be “*unmaking a Bishop*,” the Parliament certainly designed to unmake these. The Words of the Statute, as cited by Bishop Hoadly are these, “That if any Archbishop, or Bishop, or any other Person now having any Ecclesiastical Dignity, Benefice, or Promotion, shall neglect or refuse to take the Oaths by this Act appointed to be taken ---- Then he or they shall be *ipso facto* deprived, and is, and are hereby adjudged, to be deprived of their Offices, Benefices, Dignities, and Promotions Ecclesiastical.” ‡ Here you will observe that the Statute expressly deprives them of their OFFICES, as well as Dignities, and therefore you must own, that Mr. Beach contradicts the King and Parliament, when he says, they did not intend to unmake those Bishops ; and flies in the Face of the supreme Legislature of the Nation, when he so roundly asserts, that “these same deprived Bishops were as truly Bishops when deprived as before ;” unless he will say that the Office of a Bishop, is neither an Office, nor Benefice, a Dignity nor Promotion Ecclesiastical ; for of all these, the Legislature adjudged these Persons deprived. If therefore Mr. Beach is determined to defend the Cause of these deprived Bishops, for whom (whatever the Reason of it may be) he seems to have a very strong Affection, he must not pretend, that the Parliament did not intend to unmake them, but must dispute their having Authority to do it. Now as a Friend, I would advise him not to engage in this Controversy ; because he will have the highest Authority in the Nation, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, for his Opponents ; and, as it may be, they will not like to be treated in such a Manner, as Mr. Beach always treats his Antagonists in, so they have Methods of answering those who dispute their Authority, which would be as little agreeable to him.

If Mr. Beach has no Regard to his Superiors, or Fear of their Resentment, yet he will find the Scheme he has espoused, miserably embarrassed, and will never be able

‡ *Preservative*, p. 35.



to clear it of the Difficulties that attend it. He allows that the Civil Magistrate had Authority to turn them out of their Sees, or to dissolve the Relation between them, and the Clergy and People of their several Diocesses ; for he says “ Dr. *Sancroft*, who had been Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was deprived and turned out of his See, (I hope he means lawfully deprived) and Dr. *Tillotson* succeeded him.” p. 9. Now the Relation between a Bishop and his People, is as truly *Spiritual* as the Office itself ; for they are *the Flock of which the Holy Ghost has made him Overseer*. It will therefore be difficult giving a good Reason, why the Civil Magistrate may not as well deprive a Bishop of his Office, as turn him out of his See, and so release the Clergy from the Obedience they owed him by Virtue of the *Canonical Oath*, and discharge the People from the Obligation they were before under, by a divine Precept, to obey him as one that *had the Rule over them*, and to submit themselves to him as to one that *watched for their Souls*, and must give an Account of them.

But further, the Constitution and Principles of the Church of *England*, to which I hope Mr. *Beach* will submit, do allow this Authority to the Civil Magistrate. The King is Sovereign Judge in all *Causes Ecclesiastical*, by virtue of that Supremacy which at the Reformation was transferred from the triple Crown at *Rome* to the Imperial Crown of *England*. The Convocation, which is the highest Ecclesiastical Court in *England*, can't meet without the King's Leave ; and when met, “ may not proceed to any Canonical Debates or Resolutions about any Thing, but according to his special Direction” ; and when they are judging of Heresy, the King “ may prohibit in such Cases, or receive an Appeal, and confirm, suspend, or annul Sentence as he finds to be reasonable”, as Dr. *Calamy* tells us from Archbishop *Wake* †. And, besides all this, the Bishops who were deprived at the Revolution, had when first

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† *Abridg.* Vol. I. p. 556.



vested with their Ecclesiastical Authority, taken the Oath of *Supremacy*, in which they very solemnly acknowledged and swore "That they had, and held  
 " their Bishopricks, and the Possessions of the same,  
 " *entirely* as well the *Spiritualities* as *Temporalities* there-  
 " of, *only* of the King's Majesty, and of the Imperial  
 " Crown of this His Majesty's Realm". \* And surely, what these Bishops thus solemnly acknowledged they held *entirely* and *only* of the Imperial Crown, might lawfully be taken from them, on a just Occasion, by the rightful Possessor of that Crown; and Mr. *Beach* will not I hope deny King WILLIAM's being *rightfully* possessed of it. I hope this will convince Mr. *Beach* that the Case he puts, (p. 9.) of my being deprived by the Assembly of *Connecticut*, is far from being parallel to this of the deprived Bishops. Neither the Governor nor the Assembly of this Colony pretend to such an Ecclesiastical Supremacy as the Constitution of the Church of *England* allows to the King; and if they did, I have never by Oath submitted to it, nor acknowledged that I held both the *Spiritualities*, and *Temporalities* of my Office *entirely* and *only* of them.

'Tis evident on the whole, that these *two Lines* of Episcopal Succession in *England*, that of the *established Church*, and that of the *Nonjurors*, are kept up in direct Opposition to each other. If those, in the one Line, are true Bishops, and lawful Pastors of the Church of Christ, those in the other, must, upon your Principles, be unlawful Usurpers, Schismatics, or Anti-bishops; and therefore every thing Mr. *Beach* has said in Favour of the deprived Bishops, is really so much said against the Church of *England*, and its Bishops, and tends to destroy their Cause. And indeed, whether he be aware of it or no, he has taken the *Nonjurors* Side of the Question, and been defending their Cause against the Church of *England*. The Dispute between them arose *Anno 1691*, upon King WILLIAM's filling the Sees of

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\* Hoadley's *Preservat.* p. 33.



the deprived Bishops. Dr. *Calamy* writing of this Year, says, "The Debate among them at this Time stood on this Foot. One Side said the State could not deprive Bishops of their Episcopal Character, but that they remained Bishops still; and their Ordinations, and Confirmations, and other Episcopal Acts were valid, except such Acts of Jurisdiction as respected the particular Diocese, out of which they were ejected. --- Others said the Princes had Power *entirely* to deprive Bishops, and urged *Solomon's* deposing the High Priest *Abiathar*; and produced many Precedents in the Christian Church for Confirmation." \* I told you in my former, that it was impossible to justify the present Ministry in the Church of *England* upon your Principles; and Mr. *Beach* has helped me to prove it; for you see I am obliged to vindicate the Church of *England* and its Bishops, by defending the Deprivation of the Nonjuring Bishops against him, on which Depri- vation the Right of the present Set of Bishops depends.

The other Instance, I named, as rendering the Succession in the Church of *England* uncertain and dis- putable, happened at the Reformation; and it equally affects your Line of Succession, and that of the Nonju- rors. All the Bishops in the *English* Church, at the Time of Queen ELIZABETH's Accession, were bigot- ted Papists, and did their utmost to prevent the Reformation. There was not a single Man of them active in it, or so much as consenting to it while it was carrying on; and but one that would submit to it when it was established by the Legislature; and he refused to assist in consecrating the Protestant Bishops. The old Popish Bishops, who refused to submit to the Parlia- mentary Reformation, were deprived of their Offices by the Civil Magistrate, and the Queen appointed other Persons to succeed them, and fill the vacant Sees; among others Dr. *Parker* was nominated to the Arch- bishoprick of *Canterbury*. The Validity of *Parker's* Con-

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\* *Abridg.* p. 508.



secration is disputed. The Story of the *Nags-Head* Consecration, which I mentioned before as a Match for your Story of a *Leather-Mitten* Ordination, (though I did not think either of them of sufficient Importance to be told at large, and so left them both to adorn Mr. *Beach's* Book ;) appears still in the same View, and proves that this Consecration has been disputed. I did not report it as authentick History : On the contrary, I suppose Falshood to be one of the Particulars wherein these two Stories agree. And I will add an Instance or two more, wherein there happens to be a remarkable Agreement between them ; The Story of the *Nag's-Head* was a Contrivance of the Enemies of the Church of *England* ; so was that of the *Leather-Mitten* of the Enemies of the *New-Englisch* Churches : The former was not publish'd 'till forty Years after the Fact was said to have been committed ; the aged People at *Stratford* say, that it was as long after Mr. *Chauncy's* Ordination, before they ever heard of the latter : And the Persons who first reported it, have by what I can learn, left as bad a Character, as the first Reporters of the former Story. I cannot indeed say, that I have " seen the original Instrument then made, describing all the Particulars " relating to" Mr. *Chauncy's* Ordination ; and if I could, I would not publish to the World, that it was " so particular as to give an Account at which Door of the " Church they entered,---and at which Door they came " out ;" p. 11. for as Men don't use to record such trifling Circumstances, I should fear it would give the whole a Romantick Air ; or make it look too much like a Thing contrived after the Story got abroad, on purpose to confront it.

There is another Thing which certainly renders *Parker's* Consecration very doubtful, and indeed bids fair to nullify it ; and that is the legal Incapacity of the Persons by whom this Consecration is allowed to have been performed. I mentioned this in my former. I named *Barlow*, *Story*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgkings* as the Men that consecrated *Parker*, and observed, that tho' they



they had been Bishops in the Reign of EDWARD VI, they were legally deprived in Queen MARY's Time, and having never been restored were under a legal Incapacity when they performed this Action: To this Mr. *Beach* has made no Reply at all, tho' he declares he had "considered *all* the Arguments I had advanced" on this Head. p. 12.

In Addition to what I said in my former on this Subject, I shall now set down a Passage I find in a *Letter to the Reverend Mr. Peers, Vicar of Faringdon, by a Clergyman*. This Author having recited the Facts in this Case, from Bishop *Burnet's* History of the Reformation, and made some Observations upon them, says Page 48th. "Having quoted Bishop *Burnet* pretty largely in this Case, you may expect I should set down his Opinion of it; but truly his Lordship seems to give up the Point, and rather excuses it from the Confusion the Church was then in, than offers at a plain Vindication. However upon the whole, 'tis plain, our Reformers were under some Difficulties in this Affair of the Consecration; otherwise the first Commission [for consecrating *Parker*] would not have been directed to three Bishops, who had forfeited their Sees by an Act of Parliament passed that very Year; or the second to one *quondam* Bishop, (whom they never restored,) two Bishops elect, and two Suffragans; especially if we further observe, That in the Letters Patents for the Consecration of the first Bishops, the Queen, for avoiding all Ambiguity, and Questions that might be objected against the same, hath, by her supreme Power and Authority, dispenced with all Causes and Doubt of any IMPERFECTION or DISABILITY that can or may be objected to it. This, as the Statute says, was a Caution which had not been used in Letters Patents of the same Nature; and therefore may give one Reason to suspect, that the Legality of the Proceeding was not so clear, as one could wish it. And this Suspicion is confirmed by the Act of Parliament which passed in the eight Year of her Reign, declar-

ing



“ing all the CONSECRATIONS that had been made since the  
 “Queen’s Accession VALID ; any Matter or Thing that can  
 “or may be objected to the contrary notwithstanding”. So  
 that tho’ Dr. Johnson is confident enough to tell us, that  
 “on your Side these Things are OUT OF ALL DOUBT”,  
*Pref.* p. 5. And that “your Clergy are WITHOUT ALL  
 “DOUBT regularly ordained ---- by Bishops who have  
 “an UNDOUBTED SUCCESSION from the Apostles”, p. 7.  
 And tho’ Mr. Beach has “gained PERFECT SATISFACTION  
 in his own Conscience” on this Head, p. 42. you will  
 see that the Reformers, who were much greater Men  
 and better acquainted with this Affair, were afraid that  
 IMPERFECTION and even DISABILITY might be objected  
 in this Case ; and therefore prevailed with the Queen  
 to *dispense with the same by her supreme Power and Autho-*  
*rity* ; and did not think themselves secure, till they had  
 procured an Act of Parliament about seven Years after,  
*declaring their Consecrations VALID, any Matter or Thing*  
*to the contrary notwithstanding.*

’Tis on the whole exceeding plain, that there were  
 Doubts and Disputes at that Time, relating to the *Va-*  
*lidity of these Consecrations* ; and that some pretty extra-  
 ordinary Steps were taken to remove them. And as  
 Mr. Beach will not care to own that either the Letters  
 Patents, or the Act of Parliament could render these  
 Consecrations at all the more valid ; all these Doubts  
 and Scruples, must upon his Principles, remain to this  
 Day unremoved. Now if these Protestant Bishops  
 were not lawfully and regularly consecrated, the Suc-  
 cession is really broken ; and your Ministers, upon their  
 own Principles, are no better than Descendants of *Jona-*  
*than*, and you are guilty of the Sin of *Corah*’s Adherents,  
 in joining with them in Opposition to the Popish Bi-  
 shops : And you have not so much as the Plea of Ne-  
 cessity to justify you ; for Mr. Beach says he believes  
 “the Papists may be saved” p. 42.

Having thus taken a View of two or three Links at  
 this End of the Chain, and seen how flawy and defective  
 they look ; let us now examine a few Links at the  
 other



other End, and see if they make any better Appearance. This I shall the rather do, because Defects at that End have a very extensive Influence, and will save you the Trouble of seeking this imaginary Uninterrupted Succession of Bishops in any Communion whatever; and I hope it will bring you off from a Principle so ruinous to the whole Christian Church, as that Mr. Beach has laid down in these Words, “ There can be no true  
 “ Ministers of Christ without an Uninterrupted Succession” ; p. 4. for ’tis evident that this Succession must according to him be *Episcopal* as well as *Uninterrupted*. ’Tis, I think, allowed that the Succession in the See of *Rome* is as clear as in any one See in Christendom: This at least Mr. Beach will not deny; for according to him, your own Succession must have run in that Channel for the first six hundred Years. Now that you may be sure I don’t impose upon you, in the Account of the first Successions in the Church of *Rome*, I will produce two Witnesses that cannot be reasonably excepted against, and they shall speak for themselves. The first is Mr. Lewis, Minister of *Margate*, a Clergyman of the Church of *England*; this Gentleman in his *Letter to the Reverend Dr. Kennet, Dean* (and afterward Bishop) of *Peterborough*, p. 42. has these Words, “ You know,  
 “ Sir, Bishop *Pearson* has shewn, that *Eusebius’s* Account  
 “ is very disturbed and confused. St. Peter is set down  
 “ as the first Bishop of *Rome*, and yet it is a Thing very  
 “ disputable, whether St. Peter ever was at *Rome*. *Linus*  
 “ is reckoned as his immediate Successor, and Bishop  
 “ *Pearson* has shewn that St. Peter died after *Linus*. *Cletus*,  
 “ *Clement*, and *Anacletus* are reckoned next, and yet  
 “ Bishop *Pearson* has made it probable, at least, that *Cletus*  
 “ and *Anacletus* are both the same Person.” My other Witness is a noted Historian of the *Romish* Communion, the celebrated *Lewis Ellis Du-Pin*, who gives this Account of the Matter, “ According to the common received Opinion, to St. Peter succeeded St. *Linus*, to  
 “ St. *Linus* *Anacletus* or *Cletus*, and to him St. *Clement*.  
 “ This Order is observed by St. *Ireneus*, *Eusebius*, St.  
 “ *Jerom*,



“ *Ferom*, and in the ancient Catalogues of the Popes ;  
 “ but *Optatus*, *Rufinus*, *St. Augustin*, and some other  
 “ Latin Authors substitute *St. Clement*, immediately to  
 “ *St. Linus*, and place *Anacletus* in the third Rank.  
 “ Some distinguish *Cletus* from *Anacletus*.” And after  
 mentioning a Conjecture of *Epiphanius*’s in the Case, this  
 Author, instead of pretending to any Certainty in the  
 Affair, contents himself with saying, “ the best Way is  
 “ to hold to the most common and most ancient Opi-  
 “ nion.” \*

The Links in the middle of this Chain are as far from  
 appearing sound and strong, as those at each End. I  
 will give but one Instance of this : Mr. *Beach* tells us  
 that *Austin* the first Archbishop of *Canterbury* “ was or-  
 “ dained by *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome* in the Year 600  
 “ after Christ ;” Mr. *Salmon*, as high a Churchman as  
 Mr. *Beach*, and a much better Historian, says *Austin*  
 was consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury* by *Eutherius*  
 Archbishop of *Arles* in *France*, Anno 598. †

Every Man who considers these Things, must be  
 convinced that the Succession in a Line of Bishops, which  
 my Adversaries boast of, is at best a very uncertain and  
 disputable Thing, and consequently that it is the Height  
 of Madness to hang the Validity of Gospel Admini-  
 strations, and so the Hopes and Happiness of Christians  
 upon it. This is well expressed by Bishop *Hoadly* in  
 these Words, “ It is highly absurd, to put so important  
 “ a Point as God’s Favour, and Eternal Happiness, upon  
 “ what no Man living can ever be acquainted with to  
 “ his Satisfaction. But it is still more absurd to put it  
 “ upon a Matter the contrary to which appears to be  
 “ true. This is the Case here. This Regular Unin-  
 “ terrupted Succession of Persons, qualified and regularly  
 “ ordained, is a Matter impossible to be proved. Nay the  
 “ contrary is more than probable, upon all Historical  
 “ Evidence, which we receive in other Cases.” Again  
 he says, “ It hath not pleased God, in his Providence,

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\* *Hist. of the Church*, Vol. II. p. 14. † *Chron. Hist.* p. 3.  
 “ to



“ to keep up *any Proof of the least Probability, or moral Possibility* of a regular Uninterrupted Succession :  
 “ But there is a great Appearance, and humanly speaking *a Certainty of the contrary* ; that this Succession  
 “ hath been often interrupted.” \* See how widely one of the most learned and eminent Bishops of the Church of *England* now living, differs from my Antagonists on this Head.

With how much Justice may I now return Mr. *Beach* his own Words, “ If these Principles be true,  
 “ there certainly is no Minister, no Church, no Sacraments, no Christian on Earth. It must be a *most wretched sinking Cause*, which puts Men upon such  
 “ desperate Shifts.” p. 25.

But

IV. I am in the last Place, to consider the Consequences of asserting or allowing the Necessity of an Uninterrupted Succession in the Episcopal Order, and making the Validity of Gospel Ordinances to depend upon it. I shall name a few of the many, ruinous Consequences which flow from this absurd Notion, which Mr. *Beach* and the rest of your Advocates are so zealous in promoting : and I shall do it with a View to convince them and you, that it really is a “ DESPERATE SHIFT” they are driven to ; and that while they take such Methods to support a Party, they are really (tho’ I hope not intentionally) destroying the Cause of Christianity, while maintained by Money charitably given to *propagate the Gospel*.

Here

I. This Notion directly tends to deprive sincere Christians of all that Satisfaction, and Comfort in attending the Ordinances of the Gospel, which Christ designed for them. If a Man is so unhappy as to believe the Necessity of this Uninterrupted Succession we have been disputing, his Satisfaction in attending Ordinances depends upon his Belief, that this Succession has been preserved entire, in the Church of which he is

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\* *Preservative* p. 78.



a Member. Few Men I believe attain that "perfect Satisfaction," in this Case, which Mr. *Beach* says he has arrived at. And perhaps those who seriously consider what has been said, will be almost ready to suspect that his *Assurance* must be the Effect of some *Enthusiastical Impression*; especially since he seems to be so unacquainted with the Affair, as to be doubtful whether there be *four score* or *an hundred* Bishops, in the direct Line between the Bishop that ordained him and an Apostle. p. 7 : If others of you attain this Assurance by the like *Impulses*, or by an implicit Faith in Mr. *Beach*; yet I imagine it must be a very unsteady, fluctuating Thing : And when this fails, all Comfort and Satisfaction in attending the Ordinances of the Gospel must fail with it.

I will suppose one of Mr. *Beach's* Hearers receiving the Sacrament at his Hands, with a Mind suitably disposed to enjoy the most delightful Communion with Christ in that sacred Institution ; I will suppose this Man while upon his Knees, and in the Act of partaking, to call to mind that this Uninterrupted Succession is "the Root of all Christian Communion", and absolutely necessary to his being accepted of God in his Attendance on that Ordinance ; and I will further suppose that his *Enthusiastical Impulse*, or his Faith in Mr. *Beach* now fails him, and that the Man finds it impossible to believe a Fact of this Importance, when he knows that it never was proved to him by any proper Evidence, and has been told that some of the most learned Men of his own Church think the contrary is certain : In this Case I demand, whether it be possible for him to enjoy that Comfort which this Ordinance is designed to convey, and which his Soul is rightly disposed to receive, and which, had he not imbibed this false and hurtful Notion, he would have received ?

2. To assert or admit the Necessity of this Episcopal Succession, when the Matter of Fact cannot be proved by full and positive Evidence, is in Effect to betray and give up the Cause of Christianity.

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The Christian Religion as taught in the Gospel, is capable of the most full and solid Vindication ; and had it always been taught in it's native Purity and Simplicity, I believe the Name of a Deist had never been heard of in the Christian World. But many Things have been added to the Gospel, some proceeding from the mistaken Zeal of good Men, and others from the Craft of ambitious, designing and wicked Men : By these the Christian Religion has been dreadfully adulterated. Among all these, I know not whether any have more contributed to the Growth of Infidelity, than those which relate to the *Succession* of the Clergy, and the *Exorbitant Powers* they have claimed in virtue of that Succession. Let any Man read the *extravagant*, and even *Blasphemous Claims of Sacerdotal Power*, as exercised in *Authoritative Consecrations, Absolutions, Benedictions, &c.* made by the *Jacobites* and other *Highflyers* in our Nation, and he will cease to wonder that Infidelity prevails. Mr. Lewis had I believe good Reason to say, " The many *false Maxims*, and *extravagant Claims*, " relating to the Dignity of the Christian Priesthood " and Sacerdotal Powers, which some among us have " lately asserted, I think I am able to shew are the " true *natural Causes* of that *Unbelief of Revealed Religi-* " *on, Contempt of the Priesthood &c.* which all good " Men complain of among us" †.

With Regard to the Uninterrupted Succession of Bishops in particular, if Mr *Beach* should fully persuade his People, that the Gospel has made this Essential to the Validity of all Ordinances ; they have then no Chance left them but either to remain such Bigots as to believe, not only without any positive Evidence, but even against the strongest Appearances and Probabilities, that this Succession has been preserved entire in their Communion ; or else to renounce the whole Christian Institution, and turn Infidels. For my own Part, I seriously declare, that I do not see how it is possible that a Man

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† Letter to Dr. Kennet, p. 40.



who believes what Mr. *Beach* says of the absolute Necessity of this Succession of Bishops, and has never seen full and positive Proof, that it has in Fact been preserved entire, and without the least Interruption, should be a rational, judicious Christian: I do indeed see that some such Persons continue in the Christian Profession; but then it is plain to me, that their doing so proceeds from, and depends on, an unjustifiable Presumption, an implicit and unreasonable Faith. I look on such Persons with Compassion, esteeming them in a very unhappy State at present, and in great Danger of renouncing the Gospel, and disclaiming all Hopes of Salvation by it at last. In this View of the Case, my Regard to the Honour and Interest of Christianity, and Charity to the Souls of Men, obliged me to write thus largely and plainly on this Head. And I hope Mr. *Beach* will be induced, either to retract what he has said of the indispensable Necessity of such a Succession, or else to give us full and unexceptionable Evidence, that there is in Fact such a Succession; Evidence, in the Clearness and Strength of it, proportioned to the Importance of a Thing, on which, according to him, our Acceptance with God, and Title to Eternal Life in the Way of the new Covenant, do absolutely depend.

I shall conclude the Subject of Uninterrupted Succession with this Remark: There is a vastly greater Probability that the *Presbyterian Succession* has been preserved entire and Uninterrupted, than that the *Episcopal Succession* has been so. Several Things have occurred to my Tho'ts, while writing on this Subject, which fully convince me of this, as

1. It is certain that those who ordained others in the Primitive Church were Presbyters, but it is doubtful whether they were Bishops. I suppose every one will grant, that it was the Practice from the Times of the Apostles for *Ministers* to ordain Ministers: But all who have read any thing of this Controversy, know that it is disputed whether there were, in the first Ages of the Church



Church, any such Thing as Bishops in the modern Sense of the Word. Now this Dispute very much weakens the Evidence of a Succession in a *Line of Bishops*, but does not at all affect the Evidence of a *Presbyterian Succession*; for these Persons certainly were Presbyters, or ordinary Ministers of the Gospel, whether they had any higher Character or no.

2. There is no accounting for the Succession, in the Catalogue Mr. *Beach* speaks of, without supposing that some of the first Persons named in it were Presbyters, or such Officers whereof there were a Number in the same Church, who governed it joyntly. Here I shall use the Words of the Author of *An Historical and Rational Inquiry into the Necessity of an Uninterrupted Succession of Diocesan Bishops*, p. 31. “ Supposing there should  
 “ have been such a Succession of Persons from St. Peter  
 “ as are mentioned, yet those that are mentioned as  
 “ his next Successors might not be a Succession of *Diocesan Bishops superior in Office to Presbyters*, but rather a  
 “ Number of Presbyters that governed the Church in  
 “ common. Presbyters they are called by *Irenæus* \*,  
 “ who having Occasion to mention the Practice of the  
 “ Church of Rome before *Soter*, he calls them the Pres-  
 “ byters that governed the Church, which he now pre-  
 “ sided over. And when we consider the uncertainty  
 “ of the Accounts, concerning the Order in which they  
 “ succeeded, sometimes one, sometimes another being  
 “ mentioned as the immediate Successor of St. Peter  
 “ and *Paul*, and so the like Variation in the Account of  
 “ the second and third Successors; it is not improba-  
 “ ble, that they might govern the Church together in  
 “ common as Presbyters (for such *Irenæus* calls them)  
 “ and that their governing the Church in common, is  
 “ no improbable Conjecture. I find it espoused by the  
 “ learned *Vossius*, and maintained by him, † where he

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\* Fragment of the Epistle to Victor, about the Easter Controversies. † *Voss. 2 Ep. ad fin. Cla. Cotellerii.*



“ lays down this as the Form of Government in the  
 “ Roman Church : 1. *Linus, Cletus, Anacletus.* 2. *Cle-*  
 “ *tus, Anacletus,* and *Clemens.* 3. *Cletus, Anacletus.*  
 “ 4. *Anacletus, Solus.* 5. *Evaristus,* who began a Suc-  
 “ cession of single Persons, whereas before there used  
 “ to be two or three. The Reasons by which he en-  
 “ forceth this Order, are the Acts of Pope *Damasus,*  
 “ who saith expressely, that *Peter* ordained two Bishops,  
 “ *Linus* and *Cletus* to govern the People, while he gave  
 “ himself to Prayer and Preaching. And he observes,  
 “ this Passage is not in the printed Books, but in the  
 “ written Copy, and so quoted by *Marianus Scotus.*  
 “ *Linus* being taken away by Martyrdom, *Clemens* is  
 “ put in his Place with *Cletus.* And this he proves  
 “ thus : *Cletus* is said to sit from *Anno* 76. to 83. *Cle-*  
 “ *mens* is said to sit from 68. to 79. Therefore these  
 “ two Persons coincide ; but the former Quotation from  
 “ *Damasus* shews that *Cletus* was made Pastor before  
 “ 76, yea by the Apostle himself ; and then he shews,  
 “ that though *Clement* was sent into Banishment about  
 “ 79, yet *Cletus* was not alone, but *Anacletus* with him,  
 “ who survived all these, and suffered Martyrdom about  
 “ 95. He observes, that *Eusebius* was the first who  
 “ assigned to the distinct Persons, certain Years, one  
 “ succeeding another, who did very ill, because, ac-  
 “ cording to him, *Clement* succeeded *Anacletus* *Anno*  
 “ 93, whereas the Epistle written in his Name, was  
 “ writ during the standing of the Temple, that is, be-  
 “ fore the Year 71. But see the Epistle itself. By all  
 “ this it appears that these several Persons, *Linus, Cle-*  
 “ *tus, Anacletus,* were not so many Diocesan Bishops  
 “ that governed the Church of *Rome,* one succeeding  
 “ another ; but so many Presbyters (as *Irenæus* calls  
 “ them) that governed that Church, sometimes two,  
 “ and sometimes three together.” Thus far this Au-  
 “ thor : To which I shall only add, that I know of no  
 “ other Scheme on which the Difficulties that occur in  
 “ the Succession of these Persons, can be solved ; and if  
 “ this be admitted, it destroys the Succession in a Line  
 “ of



of Bishops, and establishes that in the Line of Presbyters.

3. The Objections made against particular Persons, through whom the Line must run, do generally, if not universally, relate to their Character *as Bishops*, and not *as Presbyters*. Thus for Instance, none dispute Dr. Parker's Ordination as a Presbyter : But many question, for the Reasons that have been mentioned, whether his Consecration as a Bishop was regular or even valid. Now though our Ordinations are derived from him, as well as your's ; yet they are not at all affected, according to our Principles, by the Dispute about his Consecration ; for we believe that he had Power to ordain as a Presbyter : Whereas, according to your own Principles, all your Ordinations do absolutely depend on the Validity of his *disputed Consecration*. If his Consecration was *invalid*, all your Ordinations are likewise *invalid* : And as his Consecration is, at best, *much disputed*, and *very doubtful* ; 'tis impossible that your Ordinations, which depend upon it, should be *clear* and *indisputable*.

Upon the whole, if I was now to be ordained, and thought it my Duty to seek Ordination where there was the fairest Probability of being within the Uninterrupted Succession, I should think myself much safer in taking Presbyterian Ordination, than Episcopal Orders. But, after all, as the Gospel has not by express and positive Prescription, made an Uninterrupted Succession of regular Ordinations in any Line whatever, absolutely essential to the Ministerial Character ; I conceive we have no Right to make it so : And since God has not, in his Providence kept up clear and certain Evidence of the Fact, I can't but think it is very dangerous for us to pretend to it ; and that it is in Effect giving up the Cause of Christianity to make the Lawfulness of the Ministry, and the Validity and Effect of Gospel Ordinances absolutely to depend upon it.

The next Thing incumbent on me, will be to shew,  
That



That the *New-english* Ministers have a regular Presbyterian Ordination ; and so, according to what has been just now observed, have a fairer Probability of being within an Uninterrupted Line of Succession from the Apostles, than the Episcopal Missionaries in the Country. To make this evident, I shall shew *first*, that the present Set of Ministers in *New-England* derive their Ordinations from such as were Episcopally ordained in *England* ; and *secondly*, That these had Authority to ordain others.

I. That the present Set of Ministers in the *New-english* Churches derive their Ordinations from such as were Episcopally ordained in *England*. Our Adversaries make some Objections to the first Ordinations in this Country, and seem to suppose they have a mighty Advantage against us on this Head. And yet, whatever the Matter is, they will not argue the Matter fairly with us, and bring it to an Issue : but without confessing or denying, or indeed taking any Notice of what we say on this Subject, they keep incessantly repeating the Objection, and filling the Country with Noise and Clamour. Mr. *Beach* in the Controversy he carried on some Years ago with the late Mr. *Dickinson*, said, “ Why  
 “ should we amuse People with the Talk of *Presbyterian*  
 “ Ordinations ; my first Commission I am very certain,  
 “ when traced but a little Way back was derived from  
 “ mere Lay-men.” \* To this Mr. *Dickinson* answered, that a Gentleman whose Fidelity and Capacity he could depend upon, assured him that the Fact stood thus, Mr. *Beach* “ was ordained by Mr. *Shove*, and others of  
 “ equal Authority ; Mr. *Shove* was ordained by Mr.  
 “ *Webb* and others ; Mr. *Webb* by Mr. *Walker* and  
 “ others ; Mr. *Walker* by Mr. *Warham* and others ;  
 “ and Mr. *Warham* was Episcopally ordained in *En-*  
 “ gland.” † Mr. *Beach* has never made any Reply to this ; but now, when this has been published a dozen

\* *Appeal* p. 92. † *Second Defence* p. 121.



Years, and he perhaps hopes it is forgot, he repeats this old Objection about *Lay-Ordinations*. This don't look well in the Man who professes to write "under a Sense that this may be the last Answer he may make, until he answers to Christ his Eternal Judge."

Mr. *Wetmore* likewise in his *Vindication* objected to us some old Stories of *Lay-Ordinations*, and mentioned three Instances, which I suppose were all he was able to collect. To this I answered largely in my *Address*, and endeavoured to prove, That the Facts he mentioned, were misrepresented; ---- That, supposing them true, they would not justify your Conduct in separating from us, because those Ministers were dead before you forsook our Communion, and the Ministers you separated from, are not descended from them; ---- and That the Succession in the Church of *England* is full as disputable as our's. None of my Antagonists have so much as pretended to give a distinct Answer to what I have said on either of these Heads; only Mr. *Beach* has exerted himself to shew, that I have not fully proved a direct Breach in your Succession, tho' I think he must have known that a positive Breach was not the Thing I undertook to prove, nor what my Argument required to be proved.

However, whether these Gentlemen think it proper to reply to what I say, or not; I shall consider what they have offered on this Subject, and leave the World to judge whether the Reason of their not replying to the Answers that have been given them, on this Head, is not because they really have nothing to say. That I may set this Matter in it's proper Light, I shall represent the Facts as they truly were under the following Heads; and as I go along, shall answer all the Objections of my Antagonists that are worth any Notice.

I. The first Set of Ministers in our Churches were ordained by the *English* Bishops. Mr. *Beach* has made a Concession, tho' too faint an one, upon this Head. He says, "Some of the first Settlers had received Priest's Orders."



Orders in the Church of *England*" p. 13. By his Way of expressing it, some may, perhaps, be ready to suppose, that there were but a very few of our first Ministers who were ordained in *England*; but if Mr. *Beach* has at all studied the History of his Native Country, he must know that the Fact was otherwise.

In the *Postscript* to Mr. *Wetmore's Vindication*, those that came over in the Year 1630, are considered as the "Fathers and Founders of *New-England*"; and though there were a few settled here before they came, yet as these were more considerable and numerous, and as the Settlements they began have so far outgrown, and in a Sort swallowed up the Rest; I tho't Mr. *Wetmore* just in giving them this Title, and followed him herein, without saying any Thing of those who were in the Country before. Mr. *Beach* could not be insensible that these, with such as soon after came over and joyned with them, were the Persons Mr. *Wetmore* and I agreed to call the Fathers and Founders of *New-England*. When therefore he says "that the first Planters of *New-England* were Dissenters (he should have said *Separatists*) from the Church of *England*, even before they left *England*" p. 26. And, to prove this, instances in the first Planters at *Plimouth*, who came over *Anno* 1620, he knew that he did not contradict any Thing I had said, for of these People I had really said nothing at all. And yet he so unconscionably imposes upon his Readers, as to represent himself as overthrowing "the single Point" upon which I "had stak'd the Credit of my whole Cause". I wish he may seriously reflect on this before he is called to answer to his Eternal Judge.

The first Planters of *Plimouth* I readily own, had formerly been *Separatists*; and when they were persecuted in *England* on this Account, they fled to *Holland*, where they lived about a dozen Years. In this Time they saw their Error, and became more moderate and charitable in their Principles and Practices. Mr. *Robinson* their Minister (who went with them into *Holland* tho' he



he never came into *New-England*) had in his younger Years been soured with the Principles of the most rigid Separation, and wrote several Pieces in Defence of them: But afterwards he retracted, and wrote against what he had before defended \*. And when they lived at *Leyden* in *Holland*, if any, on joining to their Communion, professed a Separation from the Church of *England*, Mr. *Robinson* would stop them forthwith, and tell them that no such Thing was required of them, as we are informed by Governor *Winslow*, who was one of them †.

'Twas after this People had come off from *Brownism*, and had made near Approaches to the Principles and Practices of the *Puritans*, who always were Enemies to Separation, that a Number of them transported themselves to *America*. These, to the Number of an hundred, reckoning Men, Women and Children, began a Settlement at *Plimouth* in *December* 1620; and within the first three Months after their Arrival, one half of this Number died, thro' the Hardships they met with. ‡ These People brought no Minister over with them, nor did they pretend (as our Separatists do now) to ordain one themselves: But being disappointed in their Attempts to procure one from *England* to their Liking, they remained without any settled Minister till the Arrival of Mr. *Smith* Anno 1629, who was the first Pastor of the Church of *Plimouth*, and he was Episcopally ordained in *England*.

From this Time, for the Space of ten or a dozen Years, Ministers came very fast into the Country. The severe Persecution of Archbishop *Laud* drove a large Number of conscientious Ministers to seek a Refuge in the Deserts of *America*. And by the Year 1640 this Country had I suppose three Times so many Ministers, in Proportion to the Number of People, as it has now. The Number of People arriving in *New-England* by that

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\* *Mather's History of New-England*. B. 1. p. 5.

† *Prince's Chronol.* p. 89. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 103.



Time, is computed at about four thousand; and the Number of Ministers, at about ninety. Dr. Mather has given us the Names of seventy seven, and the Places where they all settled in this Country. † And the same List may be seen in Mr. Neal's History of *New-England* ‡. These had, every one of them, been ordained by the Bishops in *England*; and tho' some of them went back to *England*, yet the greater Part lived and died in this Country. It was computed in the Year 1670, that of 94 Ministers which came over, 31 were then living, 36 had died in the Country, and 27 returned to *Europe* \*.

2. The Ordination which any of these Ministers afterward received in this Country, was, in the Nature and Design of it, only an *Instalment* in the Pastoral Office over a particular Church, which had called them thereto. These Ministers, many of them at least, had what has been called a *Re-ordination* after their Arrival in this Country; and this was performed by *Laymen*. Mr. Beach supposes this will cut off our Claim to a Succession from the *English* Bishops; for he says "They RENOUNCED their Ordination, as a Nullity, and submitted to be re-ordained by mere Laymen and Mechanics" p. 27. I make no doubt many of Mr. Beach's Readers understand him, that there was an *explicit* Renunciation of their Episcopal Ordination; and indeed the Expression is so strong that I can hardly doubt his designing to be so understood: But as he has produced no Authority for this, so I believe he will not undertake to justify the Fact.

He uses this Expression when speaking of the Ordination of Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton at Salem, Anno 1629, which were the first of these Re-ordinations. But the Reader will have a very wrong Notion of Mr. Higginson, if he takes him for a Separatist. This good Man when he left *England*, called his Children and the other

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† Book iii, p. 2. ‡ Vol. i. p. 195.

\* Mather's Hist. B. iii, p. 215.



Passengers to the Stern of the Ship, to take their last Sight of their native Country, and made this Speech to them, “ We will not say as the Separatists were wont “ to say at their leaving *England*, *Farewell Babylon !* “ *Farewell Rome !* But we will say, farewell dear, *En-* “ *gland*, farewell the Church of God in *England*, and “ all the Christian Friends there. We do not go to “ *New-England* as Separatists from the Church of *En-* “ *gland* ; though we cannot but separate from the Cor- “ ruptions of it : But we go to practise the positive “ Part of Church Reformation in *America*.” † This Speech he made about three Months before his Re-or- dination, and one can hardly believe that he would so soon after renounce as a Nullity the Ordination he re- ceived in the Church of *England* ; at least I hope the Public will be convinced, that Mr. *Beach*’s bare Asserti- on is not to be taken against this Evidence ; and that therefore he must produce some better Authority in this Case, if he would have it believed that the Fact was as he has represented it.

That the true Design of these Re-ordinations was what I have mention’d, is fully evident from the next Instance of this Nature I meet with. Mr. *Wilson* was re-ordained at *Charles-Town* August 27th. 1630, just a Year after Mr. *Higginson* : And “ it was done with a “ Protestation by all, that it should be only as a Sign of “ his Election to the Charge of his new Flock, without “ any Intention that he should thereby renounce the “ Ministry he had received in *England*”. ‡ Thus the Ministers which came from *England*, when they were re-ordained in this Country, were so far from renouncing their former Ordinations as Nullities, that they and all concerned with them in this Transaction, solemnly pro- tested against the Action’s being taken in this Sense. And this is more than sufficient to confute Mr. *Beach* if he should pretend, as perhaps he will, that he meant no more than that their submitting to be thus re-ordained

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† Ibid. B. iii. p. 74. ‡ B. i. p. 22.



was a *virtual* or implicit Renunciation of their former Ordinations.

3. At the very Time when those who were already Ministers were thus ordained, or rather *installed*, by Laymen; those who had received no Ordination before, were ordained by Ministers. Mr. *Beach* says boldly “mere Lay-Ordinations was the *first* and *original* Practice of this Country, and that from Principle”; p. 12. and to prove it he quotes the Platform agreed upon at *Cambridge* 1648; and as Instances of their acting upon the Platform in this Respect, he mentions “the two very first Ordinations that ever were performed in this Country”, those at *Salem* already mentioned. But here Mr. *Beach* blunders at a sad Rate; for since *Plimouth* was settled almost thirty, the *Massachusetts* twenty, and *Connecticut* a dozen Years before the Platform was composed, the Allowance in it for Lay-Ordinations will not prove this to have been “the *first* and *original* Practice of this Country”: And to mention the Ordinations of Mr. *Skelton* and Mr. *Higginson* as Instances wherein the Platform was acted upon, is a Blunder with a Witness; for by his own Account of the Matter, these Ordinations were performed nineteen Years before the Platform had a Being.

The Truth of the Case was this: Those that had been ordained in *England*, were installed by Laymen from the Beginning of the Country. These being already lawful Ministers, did not need a proper Ordination: But it was tho’t suitable to introduce them into the Pastoral Relation to a particular Church, by laying Hands on them and praying over them; and this, in as much as they were already Ministers, it was tho’t might be performed by Laymen. And of this I may say, as Mr. *Beach* does of the Bishops taking Commissions to ordain in the King’s Name and by his Authority, “if it did no Good, it could do no Hurt”. These Re-ordinations (as they are called) were performed some Years before the Platform existed; and in this Period, if one

was



was to be ordained that had recieved no Ordination in *England*, the Solemnity was performed by Ministers. I will give one Instance of this, and it is so far as I know the first *proper Ordination* that was ever performed in *New-England*, and so will shew us what truly was the *first* and *original* Practice of the Country in this Case. Mr. *John Woodbridge* was ordained at *Andover*, September 16th. 1644, by the Hands of Mr. *Wilson* Minister of *Boston*, and Mr. *Worcester* Minister of *Salisbury*. ‡ Mr. *Woodbridge* came from *England* a young Man and unordained, tho' he had been studying Divinity with a View to engage in the Ministry. Thus after all Mr. *Beach's* Confidence, it appears that Presbyterian Ordination was practised before the Platform was composed, and was indeed the *first* and *original* Practice of the Country.

He that considers the Difference thus made, in the Primitive Times of *New England*, between one who had been ordained in *England*, and one who had not, will I believe be fully satisfied, that tho' they called the Action in both Cases, by the Name of *Ordination* (as many at this Day don't distinguish between *Ordination* and *Instalment*) yet they really meant different Things; and consequently that they had not then so high an Opinion of Lay-Ordinations as Mr. *Beach* imagines, and as his Brethren the *New-Light* Separatists would be glad if he could prove.

But

4. I own that the Platform allows of Lay-Ordination in certain Circumstances, and that in two or three Instances it was practised. It is I believe true that some Men of considerable Note and Influence in the *Cambridge* Synod of 1648, looked on Lay-Ordinations as both *valid* and *regular*: But I suppose it is as true that the Majority were not of that Opinion. They indeed allowed, as many Divines of Note in the Church of *England* now do, that it was valid in Case of Necessity; but irregular and disorderly (and therefore not to be used) where Ordination by Ministers could be had.

.....  
‡ Ibid. B. iii. p. 219.



The Matter seems to have been at last compromised between them in this Manner, It was asserted that “ in  
 “ such Churches where there are Elders, Imposition of  
 “ Hands in Ordination is to be performed by those El-  
 “ ders” \* : By which Ordination was allowed to be the  
 proper Work of Elders. But then it was conceded,  
 that “ in such Churches where there are no Elders, Im-  
 “ position of Hands *may be* performed by some of the  
 “ Brethren orderly chosen by the Church thereunto.” †  
 This those who conceded to it, looked upon as de-  
 scriptive of Necessity ; and they took Care to use such  
 Expressions as should not encourage People unnecessa-  
 rily to act in this Manner. They don’t say as in the  
 former Paragraph, Imposition of Hands *is to be*, but it  
*may be* performed by them ; and they describe the Case  
 in which it *may be* thus performed, by inserting those  
 Words, “ *Occasion and Need so requiring.*” And after  
 all, that none might think a particular Church’s being  
 destitute of Elders, did make it necessary for them to  
 act in this Form, it is added, “ Nevertheless, in such  
 “ Churches where there are no Elders, and the Church  
 “ so desire, we see not why Imposition of Hands may  
 “ not be performed by the Elders of other Churches.”  
 Mr. Beach adds, “ but then these Elders must be chosen  
 “ by the Church, and *act as their Committee, and not as*  
 “ *Christ’s Ambassadors ;*” but in this he abuses the Sy-  
 nod, and imposes upon his Readers : For the Platform  
 says nothing of their acting *as a Committee of the Church*,  
 but considers them as *Elders of other Churches* ; and gives  
 this Reason for countenancing Ordinations thus per-  
 formed, “ ordinary Officers laid Hands upon the Offi-  
 “ cers of many Churches : The Presbytery at *Ephesus*  
 “ laid Hands upon *Timothy* an Evangelist ; the Presby-  
 “ tery at *Antioch* laid Hands upon *Paul and Barnabas.*” ‡  
 Notwithstanding these Cautions and Limitations, it  
 was generally (and I confess I believe justly) thought  
 that the Synod went too far, in *allowing* that a Church

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\* Platform Ch. ix. Par. 3. † Ch. ix. 4. ‡ Par. 5.  
 which



which had no Elders, *might* act in this Form ; though they did not *encourage* them to do so. The general Opinion was for Presbyterian Ordination, and it seems as if some, that at first approved of Lay-Ordination, changed their Minds in a few Years: Accordingly (a very few Instances excepted) when a Minister was to be ordained, the Elders of the neighbouring Churches were sent for on the Occasion, and performed the Solemnity. †

In Opposition to this, Mr. *Beach* confidently tells us, though he produces no Proof of it, that “ Presbyterian Ordination in this Country is a *mere Novelty*, and *but of Yesterday*, and when the Presbyterians first arose in *New-England*, they were had in the greatest Abhorrence.” p. 14. I am surprized to find a Man of Learning, one that for so many Years acted as a Minister by Virtue of a *New-England* Ordination, and then renounced it to qualify himself for Episcopal Orders, turn out so very ignorant of the true State of this Affair, and unacquainted with the Ground and Foundation of this Part of the Controversy. I have already produced an Instance of Presbyterian Ordination, of *above an hundred Years* standing: this surely can’t be called a *Novelty* and a *Thing of Yesterday* with Respect to this Country, which has been settled but an hundred and thirty Years. To this I will now add that Dr. *Increase Mather* was ordained by Presbyters about ninety Years ago; and one of those Presbyters was his own Father Mr. *Richard Mather*, who was a Member of the Synod of 1648, one of the three Ministers that were desired by the Synod to draw up each of them a Scriptural Model of Church Government, “ to the End that out of *those*, there might be *one* educed, which the Synod might after the most fitting Thoughts upon it, send abroad,” ‡ and the Person from whose Model the Platform was chiefly taken. \* And further, the Rev. Mr. *Edwards* of *Windsor*, whose venerable Age allows of his remembring Ordinations of seventy Years stand-

† *Mather's Hist.* B. v. p. 42. ‡ B. v. p. 22. \* B. iii. p. 128. ing.



ing, assures me that he can't remember that he ever, till of late, heard more than one Lay-Ordination discoursed of ; and in that Instance he thinks some Ministers laid on Hands with the Brethren.

In these *mixed Ordinations*, of which there were a few in the Country, the *Lay Hands* did not prevent the Validity of the Action. Mr. *Beach* thinks the Presbyters of the Church of *England* have no more Authority to ordain than mere Laymen ; and yet he knows 'tis the common Practice for some of them to lay on Hands with the Bishop in Ordination ; and therefore he will not pretend that the laying on unauthorized Hands, in Conjunction with those that are authorized, viciates the Ordination.

If Mr. *Beach's* Account of the Differences between the Independents and Presbyterians in this Country, be restrained to two or three Places, there may perhaps be some Degree of Truth in it : But if it be extended to the Country in general, it is mere Calumny. There never was, with Regard to *New-England* in general, so much Difference in Opinion, nor so much Alienation of Affection, between Presbyterians and Independents, as there has several Times been between *Highchurch* and *Low* in *England* ; and yet I suppose Mr. *Beach* esteems these as Brethren of the same Communion. The first Planters of this Country, tho' *Congregational*, or as Mr. *Beach* will have it *Independent*, in their Principles ; yet gave Demonstration of their Affection to the Presbyterians. A Number of Gentlemen in *Scotland*, before the Civil Wars, being uneasy under the Ecclesiastical Burthens of the Times, formed a Design of removing to *New-England* ; and sent over to know whether they might be suffered freely to exercise their Presbyterian Church Government here : And it was freely answered, that they might. And their Agent pitched upon a Tract of Land near the Mouth of *Merrimack* River for them to settle upon ; but they were afterward prevented from coming †.

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† Ibid. B. i. p. 23.



5. There is a moral Certainty, that those two or three Instances of Lay-Ordination do not at all affect the present Ministry in *New England*.

Here if I would imitate Mr. *Beach's* loose Way of talking, or if I was reduced to my last Shift as he seems to be, perhaps I might say "there is no Occasion of proving" this Point, "we are in Possession, and no Man on Earth can shew" that we derive from such as had only a Lay-Ordination. But I chuse to say that which shall be more satisfactory. It will easily be perceived from what has been said, that the Season in which Lay-Ordinations are to be suspected, is between the Years 1648 and 1662 : They are not to be looked for sooner, because we have seen that before the Platform was composed, when a Man was to be ordained, who had not received any Ordination before, Ministers performed the Action ; and they are not reasonably to be suspected after this Period, because we find, by the Instance of Mr. *Increase Mather*, that Presbyterian Ordination was practised about the Year 1662 ; and it will hardly be tho't that Lay-Ordinations were practised, after a Man who had so great a Hand in composing the Platform, and so much Influence throughout the Country as Mr. *Richard Mather*, had so openly discountenanced them at the Ordination of his Son. Now in this Period there could not have been many Ordinations of any kind. The Churches were more than supplied with Ministers that were ordained in *England*. The Country did not grow, nor the People swarm into new Plantations as they had done for some Years before ; for as the Persecutions in *England*, which occasioned Peoples coming so fast into this Country in the Beginning, were now over, there came none in this Period. In these Circumstances it cannot be tho't, that there were many Ordinations in these twelve or fourteen Years ; and since the Country never were universally in the Opinion of Lay-Ordinations, it cannot be supposed that all the Ordinations that fell within this Period, were of this Kind.



Let us suppose there might be half a dozen of these merely Lay-Ordinations, which is at least double the Number that I know of, and I really believe more than ever were performed. These must be supposed to have happened in different Parts of the Country ; and when Presbyterian Ordination became the Practice, it cannot be tho't that an Ordination Council (which perhaps never consists of less than three Ministers, and ordinarily of a much larger Number) should be made up wholly of those who had recieved only a Lay-Ordination. This cannot reasonably be suspected, because there were but six of them in the Country, and they living at a great Distance from each other ; and because they were the most unlikely to be applied to, on such an Occasion, of any Ministers in the Country. The very sending for them would have been a Sort of Reflection on their own Ordination : And if any of them were ever Members of such a Council, it can't be tho't that they were the Men that performed the Act of Ordination. For besides that it may justly be supposed, that their Ordinations were looked upon as in some Degree doubtful, it is certain that they must have been young Men when Presbyterian Ordination came into Use, and that the Country was then well supplied with much older Ministers who were ordained in *England*. There were, as I have observed before, above thirty of the Ministers that were Episcopally ordained, living in this Country in the Year 1670, and doubtless the Number was larger in 1662 ; these now were Men in Years, while those who had recieved Lay-Ordination were but of young standing in the Ministry. And every one that is at all acquainted with our Customs, knows that we do not put young Ministers upon performing the solemn Act of Ordination, when older ones are present, or can be procured.

Each of these Suppositions, necessary to support the Notion that our present Ministers derive from those who had only Lay-Ordination, is in itself highly improbable ; and when they are taken together, they afford full and  
satisfactory



satisfactory Proof that the present Set of Ministers are not at all affected by those few Instances of Lay Ordination which are pretended.

I have been so large upon this Subject, because tho' it has been often mentioned in this Controversy, yet I don't remember that it has ever been fairly stated and fully argued; and I am not altogether without Hope, that it's being thus explained will do something towards silencing the Clamours of the Episcopal Separatists, on this Head; and towards convincing the New-Light Separatists, that they are greatly mistaken in supposing they have the Authority of our Fore-fathers, to justify them in their Schismatical Practices, or in those Lay-Ordinations by which they are endeavouring to perpetuate the Schisms they have so sinfully made.

Having thus proved the *Fact*, or shewn, That the present Set of Ministers descend by Presbyterian Ordination from those that were ordained before they came into the Country; I go on to consider the *Right*, or

2. To shew, That those first Ministers of *New-England*, having been themselves ordained Presbyters in the Church of *England*, had lawful Authority to ordain others. We have already seen that by the original Institution of Christ there is *but one Order* in the Gospel Ministry, and that the Pretence of an Imparity's being afterwards introduced by the Apostles, acting under Inspiration, has no just Foundation: From whence it unavoidably follows, that there is at this Day, by Divine Right, but one Order in the Ministry.

If there be thus but one Order, the Power of Ordination *must* belong to that Order. This Consequence Mr. *Beach* expressly allows, p. 16; and therefore it must be acknowledged that Presbyters have the Power of ordaining, unless you will deny that they are Ministers of Christ's appointing, or have any Commission or Authority from him. Now your own Advocates allow that Presbyters have Christ's Commission; Mr. *Beach*,  
tho'



tho' he does not pretend to any higher Character than that of a Presbyter, says he has "perfect Satisfaction in his own Conscience that he has now Authority from Christ to act in his Name, and as his Ambassador", p. 42. Thus he allows Presbyters have "Authority from Christ", which they can't have unless his Commission belongs to them: And if it belongs to them *at all*, they have the whole Authority contained in it; since it appears that Christ at first appointed a Parity (or but one Order) in the Ministry, and it does not appear that he has since changed his Mind, or altered this his original Appointment.

What God has joined Men cannot separate: If therefore Bishops in ordaining Presbyters, use such Expressions as are sufficiently descriptive of the Gospel Ministry, the Office which Christ has instituted in his Church, which I asserted in my former *Address*, and which not only passes uncontradicted by my Antagonists, but is mentioned with Approbation by Mr. *Wetmore*, it will follow that the *whole Authority* which Christ has annexed to that Office belongs to Presbyters. The Agreement of the Parties does not alter the Law in this Case; and therefore when any Man is regularly introduced into an Office, he has all the Authority which the Law has annexed to that Office, and is not limited by the Misapprehensions of the Person who introduced him, or by his own Ignorance of the Extent of the Office when he first undertook it: Nor will his Predecessor's having for some Time disused a certain Authority, or even expressly disclaimed it, prevent his having a legal Right to exercise this Authority, provided the Law has annexed it to his Office. The Supposition therefore of a Presbyter's having the Power of ordaining, even when neither the Bishop who ordained him, nor the Presbyter himself at the Time of his Ordination, had any Tho't that this Authority belonged to his Office, is so far from being the greatest of Absurdities, as Mr. *Beach* would represent it, that it is capable of being solidly proved by those Principles which Mankind universally allow, and always act upon.

To



To make this, if possible, still more plain and convincing, let us suppose that the Church of *England* had at the Reformation embraced the *Antipædobaptist* Principle, and formed her Ordination Office upon that Scheme; let us suppose this Settlement still to remain, and Mr. *Beach* to have agreed to it when he took Orders, but since that Time to have attained full Conviction that by the Laws of Christ's Kingdom Infants are proper Subjects of Baptism, and that the Ministers of Christ may not refuse them. In this Case I would ask him, whether he would have Authority to baptize Infants, by Virtue of his Ordination thus received in an *Antipædobaptist* Church; or must seek a new Ordination to qualify him for discharging this Part of a Minister's Office? I make no doubt Mr. *Beach* would think Episcopal Ordination, tho' received in the Circumstances here supposed, authorized him to administer Baptism to Infants. But then (to use his own Language) "He must be supposed to recieve this Authority, not only without any  
 " Signs that do expresse such an Event, not only without any such Intention in the Church, or in the Bishop ordaining, or even in himself, but even against the Will and Intention of the Church, against the Will and Intention of the Ordainer, nay, against his own Will and Intention, declared in his solemn Vow at the Time of his Ordination. And (Mr. *Beach* adds) "he who can believe this, will stick at no Absurdities, how great soever". p. 15.

There seems to be something puzzling in this Affair: and it may look at first Sight like Demonstration on both Sides: But all the Puzzle arises from a *vulgar Error* relating to the Nature of Ordination; which is so deeply rooted in the Minds of my Antagonists, that 'tis very difficult bringing them off from it. They always consider Ordination under the Notion of *giving a Commission*, and that in such a Sense as subjects the Authority given to the Will of the Giver, that is the Ordainer; or renders it liable to be enlarged or contracted at his Pleasure. All the Absurdity mentioned before,  
 arises



arises entirely from viewing the Matter in this Light, and is inseparable from this Notion. But if Men would form just Notions of Ordination, and consider it as *introducing a Person into, or qualifying him to execute* an Office, which the Laws of Christ's Kingdom have erected, and to which those Laws have annexed certain Powers or Authorities; they would easily see that there is no more Absurdity in supposing a Minister, ordained in an Antipadobaptist Church, to have Authority to Baptize Infants; or a Presbyter ordained in an Episcopal Church, to have the Power of ordaining, though neither the Ordainer intended to give these Powers, nor the Person ordained thought at the Time of it, that he received them; than there is in supposing a Man to have all the Authority the Law has annexed to the Office of a *Constable*, when the Justice who gave him the Constable's Oath, and the Man himself when he took it, were ignorant or mistaken with Regard to the Extent of that Office.

Mr. *Beach* seems willing to allow that in Foreign Nations "the Bishops at the Reformation ordained others [he must mean Presbyters] to the whole of their own Office" p. 17: And on this Account he owns the Validity of Ordinations in the Reformed Churches abroad. Mr. *Beach* must be supposed to mean Popish Bishops; for I conclude he knows there were no Bishops (in his Sense of the Word) among the foreign Reformers, and that the first Ordinations performed in those Protestant Churches were merely Presbyterian. Now it is undoubtedly true that at the Time of the Reformation, it was the general Opinion both of Papists and Protestants, that Bishops were not by divine Right of a superior Order to Presbyters. "What the Mind of the *Romanists* then was, may be learned from Bishop *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, which tells us, *That it was the common Style of the Age, to reckon Priests and Bishops as the same Office,*" (Vol. I. p. 366.) † And "when the first Reformers [in

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† *Sober Remarks*, p. 5.



“ *England* ] were asked, whether Priests or Bishops were  
 “ first, they answered, they were at one Time, and both  
 “ one Office in the Beginning of Christ’s Religion.” \*  
 Now if the *English* Bishops at the Reformation, looked  
 upon Priests and Bishops as being “ both one Office,” it  
 will follow that they as well as the foreign Bishops or-  
 dained Presbyters to the whole of their own Office ; and  
 consequently Mr. Beach must allow our Ordinations as  
 well as those of the Protestant Churches abroad. Thus  
 in whatever View we consider the Matter, whether  
 we regard the primary Institution of the Ministry, or  
 the State of it at the Time of the Reformation, the  
 Presbyter’s Claim to the Power of Ordination appears  
 just and well-grounded, after all Mr. Beach has said  
 against it.

I can’t leave this Subject without taking Notice of  
 the Injustice done to Mr. Neal, whom Mr. Beach char-  
 ges with Falshood. He tells us that Mr. Neal has  
 said, *The Form of ordaining a Priest and a Bishop, is the*  
*same* ; and he assures us “ there is no Truth in it.” p. 14.  
 The Case is this : Mr. Neal, in the Place Mr. Beach  
 refers to, is speaking of the Book of Ordination, com-  
 posed in the Reign of EDWARD VI, and he says of it,  
 “ The Form of ordaining a Priest and a Bishop is the  
 “ same, there being no express Mention in the Words  
 “ of Ordination whether it be for the one or the other  
 “ Office : This has been altered of late Years, since a  
 “ Distinction of the two Orders has been so generally  
 “ admitted ; but that was not the received Doctrine of  
 “ these Times”.† Mr. Beach I suppose will not deny  
 that the Case was truly thus with Regard to King Ed-  
 ward’s Book : And I cannot imagine with what Consci-  
 ence he could charge Mr. Neal with Falshood, because  
 in the present Book of Ordination the Form for ordain-  
 ing a Bishop is different from that for ordaining a Priest,  
 which Mr. Neal does not deny. Can you now believe

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\* Inquiry into the Necessity of Uninterrupted Suc-  
 cession, p. 5. † Hist. of Puritans, vol. i. p. 64.



that Mr. *Beach* wrote under a Sense that his next Answer might be to his Eternal Judge ?

The DISCIPLINE practised in the Church of *England*, and that pretended to in the Episcopal Churches in *New-England*, are in the next Place to be briefly considered.

In my former I gave you an Account of the deplorable State of Ecclesiastical Discipline *at present* in the Church of *England*; and that the Account might be unexceptionable, I transcribed it from the Writings of Mr. *Hildrop* a Clergyman of the Church of *England*, (I suppose) still living, and who may for ought I know be as much Mr. *Beach*'s Superior in all other Respects, as I am sure he is in a manly generous Way of writing. I mention this because Mr. *Beach* represents those who complain of Defects in the Discipline of the Church, as "*her Adversaries*", and would have you conceive of them as a Pack of "*unruly Talkers*" p. 37. when yet they doubtless are the most sensible and the most religious Part of the Nation, and many of them the truest Friends to the Church of *England*. What Mr. *Hildrop* principally complains of is, the Obligation the Clergy are under by the *Test Act*, to admit the vilest and most openly wicked Men in the Nation to the Sacrament, when they demand it as a Qualification for a Civil or Military Office. He says, if the Minister admits such a Person, he is false to his Canonical Oath; and if he refuses, is liable to the Penalty of *five Hundred Pounds Sterling*: So that in this Case there is "*no Medium between Starving and Damning*".

Now, What says Mr. *Beach* to this? Does he pretend that the Case is misrepresented? Does he suggest that a Minister may refuse a Person in such Circumstances, without Fear of the Penalty? Or, Would he have us think that he supposes a Minister may be false to his Canonical Oath without Danger of Damnation? No, but he calls the Man an *unruly Talker*. How convincing is this? You will perhaps say, He gives us a different



ferent Account of the Matter in a long Quotation from Bishop *Beveridge*. To this I reply, The Account I gave from Mr. *Hildrop* was (as I told you in my former) published in the Year 1739: But Mr. *Beach* does not tell us when Bishop *Beveridge*'s Account was published, nor so much as refer us to the Place in his Writings, where this Account is to be found: So that for ought appears, this might be published before the Law, of which Mr. *Hildrop* complains, was enacted. If Bishop *Beveridge* gave this Account of the Discipline of the Church of *England*, since the *Test Act*, yet he says nothing to remove the Difficulty arising from it; or to show how it can be reconciled with the Exercise of a proper Ecclesiastical Discipline.

Mr. *Beach* seems a great Admirer of the *Ecclesiastical Courts* in *England*, and the Discipline exercised in them. I can't find in my Heart to wish he might be cured of this, by being prosecuted in one of them; tho' he is said to be guilty of such Breaches of the Canons as many a better Man has been ruined for: particularly, as I am credibly informed, he never wears a Surplice in his Church at *Reading*. But I will tell him what some Men, whom he will not perhaps chuse to call *unruly Talkers*, nor *Adversaries* to the Church of *England*, and who understood these Affairs as well as he, or Bishop *Beveridge* either, have said of them. The Noble Historian (Earl of *Clarendon*) says, "I never yet spoke  
" with one Clergyman, who hath had Experience of  
" both Litigations, that hath not ingenuously confessed,  
" he had rather, in Respect of his *Trouble, Charge*, and  
" Satisfaction to his Understanding, have three Suits de-  
" pending in *Westminster Hall*, than one in the *Arches*,  
" or any Ecclesiastical Court", Vol. I. B. iv. † How far that kind of Court which the Commissary, on some Occasions, pretends to hold in this Country, resembles these, particularly in Respect to the *Charge* of it, the

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† Vid. *Andersen's Defence*, p. 237.



Churchmen at *New-London*, who have made the Experiment, can best inform us.

The next Testimony I shall produce, relating to Discipline and Ecclesiastical Courts, shall be taken from a late excellent Piece intitled, *Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England, and the Means of advancing Religion therein*; printed in *London* 1749, and supposed to be wrote by a Number of as considerable Clergymen as most in the Church of *England*. These Gentlemen say, “ We must speak a Word or two about  
 “ our *Want of Discipline*; a Want that is greatly, uni-  
 “ versally, and not without Reason complained of: And it  
 “ is much to be lamented, that such repeated and just  
 “ Complaints are not heard, nor any Endeavours used  
 “ to restore the Discipline that is wanted. Indeed, our  
 “ Communion Office solemnly wishes for, and our Ec-  
 “ clesiastical Courts make a solemn Shew of administering  
 “ such Discipline: Yet we believe no serious, sensible,  
 “ disinterested Person, who reads the New-Testament  
 “ only, and much more one who is sufficiently conver-  
 “ sant in the first Christian Writers next after the  
 “ Apostles, can seriously think, that the Discipline  
 “ which is commonly exercised, is the true Christian  
 “ Discipline, such as our Lord himself hath ordained,  
 “ and such as ought to be exercised in his Church” ‡. A considerable Defect they justly complain of, is, the Want of an Office for excluding unworthy Members out of the Church; “ The Want (say they) of some proper  
 “ Solemnity of this Kind, to be performed openly in  
 “ the Congregation to which the Delinquent belongs,  
 “ makes Excommunication to be much less regarded,  
 “ than it would otherwise be, since all that is now dread-  
 “ ed, is but the Loss of a little Money, which the Officers  
 “ of the Court claim for their Fees”. † Behold how perfect the Discipline of the Church of *England* is, which has nothing in it to be dreaded by an Offender, but the Fees which the Officers of the Spiritual Courts demand!

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 ‡ *Disquisitions*, p. 175. † *Ibid.* p. 141.



No wonder the Discipline which is commonly exercised in the Ecclesiastical Courts, is not the true Christian Discipline, such as our Lord himself hath ordained ; for the very *Constitution* of these Courts is foreign to the Gospel, the Officers which exercise Jurisdiction in them are not so much as named in the New-Testament, and the *Law* they proceed upon is, in many Instances contrary to the very Genius and Temper of Christianity.

The two first of these Particulars I suppose Mr. *Beach* will not deny ; and as to the last, he has shewn himself utterly ignorant of it, when he represents Men as being tried in these Courts “ *by the known Laws of the Land*” p. 37. I am surprized that Mr. *Beach* should not know, that the Ecclesiastical Courts proceed upon the *Canon Law*, which is vastly different from “ the known Laws of the Land”, or the Common and Statute Law, by which the King’s Courts proceed. The *Canon Law* is “ a Collection of Ecclesiastical Constitutions, Definitions and Rules, taken from the ancient Councils, the Writings of the Fathers, and the Ordinances of the Popes &c”. This was introduced by the Pope’s Authority, and was designed to have been laid aside at the Reformation. An Act of Parliament was made to enable the King to name thirty two Persons, half to be of the Clergy and half of the Laity, who “ should compile a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws, which not being contrary to the Statute Law, should be published by the King’s Warrant under the great Seal, and have the Force of Laws in the Ecclesiastical Courts” \*. A Work of this Nature must necessarily take up considerable Time, and that the Spiritual Courts might have some Rule to proceed by, until this new Body of Ecclesiastical Laws was thus prepared and published, there was a *Proviso* annexed to that Act, That until that Time the Canons which had been before received, should remain in Force, except such as were contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, or were to the

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\* Hist. of Purit. V. 1. p. 62.



Damage or Hurt of the King's Prerogative. 'Tis now more than two hundred Years since this Act was first passed, and as the new Body of Ecclesiastical Laws, tho' prepared by the Commissioners, was never authorized by the King, the Proviso still remains in Force. This which the Reformers designed only for a temporary Expedient, to continue at most for but three Years, has fixed the Spiritual Courts and the Canon Law, with all their Corruptions and Abuses upon the Church of *England*; and on this Foundation they stand to this Day. Bishop *Burnet* says of it, " the Proviso that had pass'd  
 " in King *HENRY* the Eighth's Time, that continued  
 " all the Canon Law then received in *England*, till a  
 " Code of Ecclesiastical Laws was prepar'd (which, tho'  
 " attempted, and well prepar'd was never settled) has  
 " fix'd among us *many gross Abuses*, beside the dilatory  
 " Forms of those Courts, which make all Proceedings  
 " in them both slow and chargeable. This has in a  
 " great Measure *enervated all Church Discipline*". Hist. Refor. Part iii. p. 330. ‡. Thus the intended Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws never took Place; but the Spiritual Courts do to this Day proceed upon the *Popish* Canon Law, as they did before the Reformation; only they are not allowed to execute such Parts of it as are contrary to the Laws or Customs of the Realm, or prejudicial to the Royal Prerogative; and when they exceed these Bounds, the Courts in *Westminster* Hall will grant Prohibitions.

'Tis true, there have been some Additions made to this Law, by Canons made since the Reformation: But it is remarkable that these, many of them at least, are of the same Temper and Complexion with the old *Popish* ones. The Authors of the late *Disquisitions* ingenuously own this, " Those *severe Injunctions* (say they)  
 " about excommunicating Men *ipso facto*, so often re-  
 " peated, and so strongly insisted upon, in this *extraor-*  
 " *dinary System of Laws*, seem to Men of charitable and

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‡ *Peirce's Vind.* p. 560.



“ candid Sentiments, to be much too harsh, and too  
 “ *unlike the Spirit of the Gospel of Peace.* The excellent  
 “ Person, who obliged us with the following Observa-  
 “ tion in a Letter, will not, we presume, be offended  
 “ at our inserting it here, without consulting him.  
 “ *The Anathema's in our Canons, says he, are so inconsis-*  
 “ *ent with the Spirit of Christianity, that it is quite neces-*  
 “ *sary for us to part with them, as soon as may be. They*  
 “ *are the Language of the Apocalyptic ---- most certainly,*  
 “ *not of the Disciples of the meek and lowly Saviour of the*  
 “ *World.* And yet, is not the Book which contains  
 “ this Language, ordered to be read so many Times a  
 “ Year (once, at least) in all our Churches ?” ‡

These are the Laws on which the Spiritual Courts proceed, and who would have tho't that Mr. Beach should chuse to be tried by these, rather than by the genuine Laws of Christianity contained in the Bible ? Yet this it seems is his Mind, and he hopes you will joyn with him in it. (Vid. p. 37) It will not do for him to pretend, that 'tis not the Bible itself, but a *Rule* that Ministers “ *carry in their own Breasts and stile it the Bible*”, which he declines being judged by ; for *the Bible itself* is as much a Rule in our Ecclesiastical Councils as the Canon Law is in the Bishops Courts, or the “ known Laws of the Land” in the King's Courts. It is equally true in them all, that Judges *do*, and *must* give Sentence according to what *they take* to be the true Sense of the Law they judge by ; and therefore if he will not allow the Distinction between *dare* and *dicere Legem*, between *making Law* and *declaring what is Law*, he may charge every Judicatory under Heaven, as he does our Ecclesiastical Councils, with judging by no other Law but what they make at the Time of judging”, and tell Men in all Cases that they “ know not by what Law they are to be tried, till Sentence is past” ; and so destroy the very Foundations of all Society both Civil and Ecclesiastical.

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‡ Disquisitions, p. 172.



Having thus considered the Discipline exercised by the Spiritual Courts in *England*, and proved it not only very defective, but opposite to the Genius of the Gospel, having produced for this the Testimonies of such as Mr. *Beach* will not chuse to call *unruly Talkers*, or *Adversaries* to the Church of *England*; I go on to say a Word or two of the Discipline pretended to in the Episcopal Assemblies in this Country.

What I asserted in my former on this Head, was, “That you cannot, *consistently with the Constitution of the Church of England*, exercise any Discipline at all in your Assemblies.” † To this Mr. *Beach* replies, that tho’ your Discipline be “imperfect, for want of the Presence of a Bishop,” yet, “it is *much better* than the Discipline of the Presbyterians,” by which he here means that which is exercised in this Country. p. 37. And before he finishes the Paragraph, he says, “*for my own Part, I use the same Discipline now, as I did when a Dissenter.*” I answer, ’tis an old Observation, That *some Folk’s Geese are all Swans*; I have before now met with those that would insist upon it, that their own Things were better than their Neighbours; But I don’t remember any one before Mr. *Beach*, that would acknowledge his own Things THE SAME with another Man’s, and yet contend for it that they were MUCH BETTER.

Mr. *Beach* makes no Reply to what I offered to prove, that the Exercise of Discipline among you, is inconsistent with the Constitution and Laws of the Church of *England*; But only insists upon it that you do exercise Discipline upon Delinquents. The Question was with Regard to the *Right* or Authority you have, upon your own Principles, to act thus; the Answer respects only the *Fact*: Now it is mere Sophistry to argue *Right* from *Fact*. And Mr. *Beach* has answered me, just as well as one of you would do, if upon my asserting that Mr. *Beach* had *no Right* to injure and abuse me, you should answer that he *had really done it*, in a great many Passages in his Book. And if Mr. *Beach* exercises an

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† Serious Address, p. 103.



Authority which he has no just Claim to, he makes himself an Offender ; and I suppose his only Security against being questioned and punished for it, consists in his being at so great a Distance from his Superiors, and out of Reach of the spiritual Courts. *Procul a Jove, a Fulmine procul.*

As for the two Instances he produces to shew the Weakness of our Discipline, I need only say, That of Mr. Robbins is very ill chosen ; he was indeed *silenced* by an Ecclesiastical Council, but not *excommunicated* as Mr. Beach asserts : But then 'tis as true that he was *restored* by the same Council, on a Confession made to them ; and as they who had censured him were the best Judges of the Sufficiency of the Satisfaction offered, so they were unanimous in accepting it. The other Instance is thus expressed, “ When your Ecclesiastical Council hath given a Number of zealous Souls to Satan to be buffeted, they will chuse them a Minister, and get him ordained, and form themselves into as regular a Church as any among you ; as you may see at Guilford.” p. 37. To this I reply, There are a Number of People at Guilford who profess to *Dissent* from our Churches, and are allowed the Privilege of *peaceable Dissenters*, as Mr. Beach and his Congregation likewise are ; but that these People were under any Ecclesiastical Censure before they went off from us, is what I never till now heard of, and I should chuse some better Evidence than Mr. Beach's bare Word before I believe it. If Mr. Beach cannot *prove* that our Discipline is weak and *contemptible*, he will endeavour to *make* it so. What else can he mean by calling the awful Sentence of Ex-communication, “ *giving a Number of zealous Souls to Satan to be buffeted* ?” Ridiculing Ecclesiastical Censures, such as the Gospel has appointed, and burlesquing Scripture Expressions in this Manner, would be accounted Profaneness even in a Deist ; What to call it in a professed Christian, and a Minister of the Gospel, I do not know. I hope however it will not be thought harsh and severe if I say, that it at least shews he had no  
very



very strong Sense upon his Mind that his next Answer might be made to his Eternal Judge.

It is not to be wonder'd at, that Practical Religion should decline, and Impiety and Wickedness prevail in the Country, as the Episcopal Separation increases, since you are not only destitute of that Discipline which Christ has instituted to keep his Churches pure; but endeavour to prevent the salutary Effects of it when exercised by us, by receiving such scandalous Persons as we have censured, and by *ridiculing* the highest Censure Christ has instituted.

As to the Fact, that the Practice of Religion declines, and that Irreligion and Profaneness grow upon us in all Places, where the Church prevails, you all know in your own Consciences that it is true; and Mr. *Beach* himself has not the Hardiness to deny it. All his Argument, p. 41. supposes the Truth of the Fact, and seems as if it were designed to prove that the worst Religion *commonly does* produce the best Men. If it don't prove this, it proves nothing; and if this be allowed, I can't see but it will follow, that it is for the publick Good of Mankind that Errors and Heresies should prevail, and be encouraged; unless Mr. *Beach* will say, that *private Vices are publick Advantages*; then indeed it may be worth while to promote Truth upon the Account of its making its Professors vicious.

I said enough before to have obviated all Mr. *Beach's* Discourse on this Head, which the Reader may see, *Serious Address*, p. 66, &c. and shall now only observe, that Dr. *Johnson* allows the Force of my Argument, if the Fact can be proved; his Words are, "There is  
 " indeed one Objection he has against the Church,  
 " which if it were well-grounded would be *sufficient*  
 " alone to put us all out of Conceit with it; and that  
 " is, that where the Church prevails it occasions a De-  
 " luge of all manner of Wickedness." *Pref.* p. 7.  
 Though the Dr. owns that this Objection is "*sufficient*  
*alone to put you all out of Conceit with the Church,*" if it  
 be



be well grounded, yet he does not dispute the Fact, but implicitly confesses it ; for he turns to you and says, “ it remains therefore with you to confute this Objection by thoroughly *reforming your Lives.*” Now if this Objection is no otherwise to be confuted but by your *reforming your Lives*, 'tis plain that it is at present just and well-grounded ; and consequently by the Dr's. Concession sufficient for the Purpose I brought it for. And if it does not answer this Design, I hope it will at least prove a Means to bring you to that Reformation, which the Dr. so justly and pertinently recommends to you on the Occasion.

I come now to that Part of the Controversy which relates to *the CONDUCT of the SOCIETY for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, and to the ACCOUNTS transmitted to them by their Missionaries in New-England, by which their Conduct is very much influenced and regulated.

I suppose nothing in my former *Address* is more resented by my Antagonists, than what I said on this Head : And they have their Reasons for it ; for it must be owned that Interest is a very tender Point with most Men. Their Conduct on this Occasion will justify me in supposing that they looked on this as one of “ the “ *most labouring Points,*” in which “ the injurious “ Treatment, (as Dr. *Johnson* calls it) they have met “ with from me, is *most pressing.*” It may therefore be presumed that they have exerted themselves to the very utmost on the Subject ; and that if they have not fully justified the Proceedings of the Society, it is because they really are unjustifiable. Their *Interest*, and a very considerable one, evidently lays at Stake ; and they are so concerned to defend themselves in this Point, that after Mr. *Beach* had said all he could upon the Head, Dr. *Johnson* spends a good Part of his *Preface* in vindicating the Society's Proceedings ; and to make sure Work, Mr. *Caner* in his *Appendix* enters into the



Argument again, and contributes his Endeavours to confute what I had said on this Subject.

I shall make no Apology for the Freedom I mean to use in examining the Proceedings of the Society, and comparing them with the Design of their Charter, and with their own Intentions, as they have from Time to Time published them to the World, to induce charitable Persons to contribute to their Fund. For however dignified and honourable many Members of this Society are, yet as the King in their Charter speaks of them as “*a Corporation for the receiving, managing, and disposing of the Charity of his Loving Subjects,*” so when they act as a Body, they are to be considered as Stewards of a national Charity : And in this View every Man that pleases, has a Right to inquire into their Conduct. And though their Missionaries may think it for *their* Interest to discourage a *free Inquiry* into these Affairs, by representing those who make it as *taking great Freedom with their Betters* : yet the Society themselves publish an Abstract of their Proceedings annually, for the Information and Satisfaction of the Publick, which supposes that they are willing their Doings should be freely examined.

This Society was incorporated *June 16th. 1701*, by King WILLIAM, “*a Prince to whom Religion and Liberty will have eternal Obligations,*” as the Bishop of Oxford justly expresses it. † The Charter thus expresses the Reasons inducing his Majesty to erect such a Society, and grant them such Priviledges, “*Whereas we*  
“*are credibly informed, that in many of our Plantati-*  
“*ons, Colonies, and Factories beyond the Seas, be-*  
“*longing to our Kingdom of England, the Provision for*  
“*Ministers is very mean, and many others of our said*  
“*Plantations, Colonies and Factories are wholly desti-*  
“*tute and unprovided of a Maintenance for Ministers and*  
“*the Publick Worship of God ; and for lack of Support*  
“*and Maintenance for such, many of our loving Sub-*  
“*jects do want the Administration of God's Word and Sa-*

† Sermon before the Soc. p. 4.



“ *craments, and seem to be abandoned to ATHEISM and*  
 “ *INFIDELITY, and also for want of Learned and Ortho-*  
 “ *dox Ministers to instruct our said loving Subjects in*  
 “ *the Principles of true Religion, diverse Romish Priests*  
 “ *and Jesuits are the more encouraged to pervert and*  
 “ *draw over our said loving Subjects to Popish Supersti-*  
 “ *tion and Idolatry. And whereas we think it our Duty*  
 “ *as much as in us lies, to promote the Glory of God,*  
 “ *by the Instruction of our People in the Christian Re-*  
 “ *ligion ; and that it will highly conduce for accom-*  
 “ *plishing those Ends, that a sufficient Maintenance be*  
 “ *provided for an Orthodox Clergy to live amongst them,*  
 “ *and that such other Provision be made as may be ne-*  
 “ *cessary for the Propagation of the Gospel in those Parts.*”

This *Preamble* to the Charter, as it explains the Design of the King in granting it, so it points out the proper Business and Duty of the Society ; and all the Powers granted by this Charter must be understood as *directed and limited* by it : For they are expressly granted “ *for THE CONSIDERATIONS aforesaid*”. The Unhappiness of those People in the Plantations for whose Sake this Charter was granted, is thus expressed, they “ *want the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments*”, and this because they are destitute of “ *Learned and orthodox Ministers*”. This is said to arise in some of the Plantations, from their being “ *WHOLLY DESTITUTE and unprovided of a Maintenance for Ministers and the Public Worship of God*”, and in others of them from this, that “ *the Provision for Ministers was VERY MEAN*”, and so did not answer its End in procuring “ *an orthodox Clergy to live amongst them*”. The Consequence of their being left any longer in this Condition, it was justly apprehended would be, either that they being thus “ *abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity*”, would sink into a State of the greatest Irreligion and Wickedness ; or else that they would become a Prey to “ *Romish Priests and Jesuits*”, who it might be supposed, would be encouraged by the Plantations being destitute “ *of orthodox [that is Protestant] Ministers*” to attempt to pervert them



them to “*Popish Superstition and Idolatry*”. And to remedy this Evil, and prevent its producing such terrible Effects as were thus apprehended, and also that necessary Provision might be made “*for the Propagation of the Gospel in those Parts*”, that is among the Heathen intermixed with or bordering upon the Plantations, the King was pleased in his Royal Wisdom and Goodness to incorporate this Society, and grant them such Powers and Privileges as were necessary or proper for this End. Thus the People in the Plantations, whom the Society, according to their Charter are to relieve, are such only as were *wholly destitute* of the Public Worship of God, and the Administration of the Sacraments of the Gospel, for want of Provision for an orthodox or Protestant Clergy to live amongst them; and therefore could not be left any longer *in the State they were then in*, without manifest Danger of their being abandoned to Atheism and Irreligion, or being perverted to *Popish Superstition and Idolatry*.

This Account of the Rise and Design of the Society's Charter, is confirmed by Dr. Mawson Bishop of *Chichester*, who in his *Sermon* preached before the Society, and printed and dispersed by their Order and at their Expence, describes some of the Plantations as being “little able to provide a Maintenance for a Clergyman to live among them; and here (says he) for Want of Churches and Ministers, the People lived for several Generations, till this Charity was set on Foot, like the *Ephesians* in their unconverted State, whom St. Paul describes as *having no Hope, and without God in the World*”. That these were the People for whose Sake the Society was erected, he asserts in the next Words, “This Case of our Colonies that were UN-PROVIDED OF THE OUTWARD MEANS OF RELIGION, was recommended by some public-spirited Persons, to the Consideration of that great Prince, who came over to save us from Popery and Arbitrary Power; who when he had preserved our Religion, being willing to extend its Influence to our Plantations in foreign Parts,



“ Parts, incorporated this Society, and committed to  
 “ them *the Care of sending among them* [ that is, the Co-  
 “ lonies that were unprovided of the outward Means of  
 “ Religion] *fit Persons*, to prevent their falling on the  
 “ one Hand into *Atheism* and *Irreligion*, or into *Popery*  
 “ on the other”. ‡ If this Account be just, as the  
 Society by publishing and dispersing the Sermon from  
 whence I have transcribed it, acknowledge it is, it must  
 be granted that the Society, according to the true and  
 original Design of their Charter, have no Concern with  
 any People, who are not either in a State of absolute  
 Heathenism, or at least “ unprovided of the outward  
 Means of Religion”, and so destitute of “ God’s Word  
 and Sacraments” for Want of Provision for the Main-  
 tenance of orthodox Ministers.

In the next Place, The Accounts this Society have  
 from Time to Time published, of the Designs they were  
 engaged in, with a View to procure Benefactions to-  
 wards carrying them on, serve further to shew what  
 their proper Business is, or how those Benefactions  
 ought to be employed. When the Society, to induce  
 pious and charitable People to contribute to their Fund,  
 have declared *why* they want Money, or *what Use* they  
 intend to apply it to, and upon this many charitable Per-  
 sons have contributed largely towards their Supply, the  
 Money so given must be looked upon as *strictly appropri-  
 ated* by the pious Donors to those particular Uses ; and  
 may not on any Pretence, be diverted to other and dif-  
 ferent Uses, tho’ those other Uses may seem to have  
 something pious or charitable in their Nature : Because  
 this must be supposed contrary to the Design of those  
 who gave it ; and because they who are only to man-  
 age or lay out the Money have no Authority to change  
 that Appropriation of it, which is thus *made by an A-  
 greement* between them and those who gave it.

The *first* Thing I shall mention under this Head, is,  
 “ *The most approved Form of a Legacy to this Society*”,  
 which has been published at the End of every Abstract

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‡ Sermon before Soc. p. 20, 21.



of the Society's Proceedings for many Years past, as an Invitation to charitable People to remember the Society when making their Wills, and a Direction how they may do it not only in good Form of Law, but in a Manner agreeable to the Society themselves. This runs in these Terms, "Item, I give to the incorporated Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Sum of-----to be applied towards carrying on the Charitable Purposes for which they were incorporated". We have already shewn from the Charter itself, what were the Charitable Purposes for which this Society were incorporated; and it will I suppose readily be granted that it is a Breach of Trust to apply any of the Legacies given in this Form, to the carrying on *any other* Designs, even tho' they are such as may be tho't charitable in their Nature.

The next Thing of this kind I have met with, is, "The Request of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, concerning fit Ministers to be sent abroad for that good Purpose", published in a Collection of Papers printed by Order of the Society. In this they inform the Public, that notwithstanding the Foundation they have laid, and the Progress they have made by sending several Ministers of the Church of England into His Majesty's Dominions and Colonies in the *West-Indies*, they understand by Letters since come from thence, "that there is great Need of many more, to instruct the *English* and such *Indians* as live among them or near them, in the Principles of the Christian Religion, to administer the Word and Sacraments" &c. They speak of this as a "great and pious Design"; and of such as they send abroad, as being employed in an "Apostolical Work", and say that when suitable Clergymen are recommended to them, they "will consult with the Lord Bishop of *London*, in order to sending them to such Places as have most Need, and where they may therefore, by God's Assistance and Blessing, do most Good". † This was a necessary and wise

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† Collection of Papers, p. 15.



Resolution of the Society ; for since it was not then (neither is it now) in their Power to send so large a Number of Ministers into *America*, as are really and very greatly needed to instruct the ENGLISH and such INDIANS as live among them or near them, in the Principles of the Christian Religion ; it was, and it still is highly proper for them to confine themselves to such Places as have most Need, and where they may do most Good. Their publickly engaging to act in this reasonable and just Method doubtless procured them many Benefactions. And it must be a Misapplication of Money thus given, to apply any Part of it to the Service of such as might have enjoyed the Ordinances of the Gospel without any Assistance from the Society ; while Multitudes both of the *English*, and of the *Indians* who live among them or near them, had none to instruct them in the Principles of the Christian Religion, or administer the Ordinances of Christ to them.

Again, The Society in their Abstract for the Year 1715, published, “ *The general Instruction for the Missionaries, with respect to the Conversion of Heathens,*” which represented this to the World, as being a considerable Part of the Work they were engaged in. And it was very probably owing to charitable People’s having this View of the Matter, that the Society’s Receipts within the Year after they publish’d this, exceeded those of the Year before by almost two hundred Pounds.

Moreover, The Society have since very highly recommended an *Essay towards the Instruction of the Indians*, written by the Bishop of Sodor and Man ; and composed as they say “ on Purpose to promote the good Designs of the Society :” And they have sent over to their Missionaries, Catechists and School-Masters in *America*, three thousand Copies of it. \* One would imagine from hence, that a great Part of their Missionaries were employed in converting the *Indian Nations*, and that this was the principal Object of the Society’s Concern.

\* *Vid. Abstracts for the Years 1741, and 1742.*



In the last Place I shall mention under this Head, the Sermons annually preached before the Society, and published by their Order and at their Expence. These Sermons are justly to be looked upon as publick Declarations made to the World by the Society, and not merely as the private Sentiments of those who preach them; for one of the *standing Orders* of the Society is, “ That no Book or Paper be printed and dispersed at the Charges of the Society, or admitted into the Missionaries Libraries, or sent over to them, till the said Book or Paper has been proposed and approved at a general Meeting of the Society.” † And yet these Sermons, with the Abstracts of their Proceedings annexed to them, are not only sent over to their Missionaries, but one of them is “ sent to every Person a Benefactor to the Society within the preceding Years.”

The Accounts given the Publick in the Anniversary Sermons, are such as these. Dr. Moore, Bishop of Ely, preaching from *Acts* xxvi. 28, 29, thus addresses the Society, “ Now what we here see related of St. Paul, the most eminent Apostle of the Gentiles, that he was labouring to make Men of all Sorts and Degrees, Converts to Christ, and to convince them of the unquestionable Truth of the Doctrines he proposed to them to believe, and to induce them to conform their Lives to the most reasonable and holy Precepts he had shew’d most necessary for them to observe, is the same noble Work you, joined in a Society, have engaged yourselves in, and are doing all that in you lieth, to propagate the Gospel in Foreign Parts.--- You could have no Design more advancing the Honour of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and tending more to the Recovery and real Happiness of degenerate Men, than to bring them out of Pagan Darkness, from under the Power of Satan, and the Tyranny and Dominion of their unruly Lusts and Passions, and to prevail with them heartily to embrace pure Religion and Virtue. What solid Comfort and Joy must spring

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† *Collect. of Papers*, p. 53.



“ up in your Souls, of which no created Being can  
 “ deprive you, to have been the Occasion by the Di-  
 “ vine Grace and Blessing, of fetching over many  
 “ poor ignorant Persons, *who were mere Idolaters, --- and*  
 “ *of inclining them to become Worshippers of the one only*  
 “ *true God ?*” ‡

Dr. *Ash*, Bishop of Clogher in Ireland, thus represents  
 the Matter in his Sermon, “ To prosecute this truly  
 “ *noble and Christian Design* of propagating the Gospel ;  
 “ *the Design for which our Saviour came into the World,*  
 “ and the very Commission he gave his Apostles and  
 “ their Followers when he was leaving it, saying, Go  
 “ *ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel unto every Crea-*  
 “ *ture,* is the VERY BUSINESS and Study of the worthy  
 “ Members of that Society, before whom I have the  
 “ honour to speak.” † To excite his Auditory to assist  
 the Society with their generous Benefactions, he thus  
 addresses them, “ Let us therefore, in the Name of  
 “ God, do as we have been done unto, and endeavour  
 “ *to carry the glorious Light of the Gospel to the uttermost*  
 “ *Ends of the Earth.*” \* And thus he concludes his Ser-  
 mon, “ God in his own due Time will undoubtedly cause  
 “ *the Fulness of the Gentiles to come in ;* and how glori-  
 “ ous and comfortable a Presage of that happy Time,  
 “ would a generous Encouragement be of *this Under-*  
 “ *taking* now ? What a distinguishing Honour is it to  
 “ be thought worthy to be his Instruments in bringing  
 “ to pass such his gracious Purpose, to be subservient  
 “ to him in making good his Word, in fulfilling the  
 “ Promises that he has made, and in so setting forth  
 “ the Glory of his Goodness and Truth ? May the good  
 “ God inspire us all with such *true Christian Zeal, and*  
 “ *Evangelical Charity,* as may prove effectual to the  
 “ Enlargement of his Kingdom, *that his Ways may be*  
 “ *known upon Earth, his saving Health among all Nations.*”

Dr. *Sherlock*, now Bishop of London, concludes his  
 Sermon before the Society with these Words, “ These

.....  
 ‡ Sermon before the Soc. p. 3, 4. † p. 5. \* p. 13.



“ Considerations may perhaps suggest to your Thoughts  
 “ what probable Ground there is to hope for Success  
 “ in our Endeavours to spread the Gospel of Christ in the  
 “ dark Corners of the World, and what are the true Me-  
 “ thods of proposing it to Mankind: But as I chuse to  
 “ decline this Subject, and to leave it to the properer  
 “ Hands on which ’tis placed, I shall shut up all with  
 “ this Petition: That God would hasten the Comple-  
 “ tion of the Prophecies relating to the Kingdom of  
 “ Christ; that he would give him the Heathen for his  
 “ Inheritance, and the utmost Parts of the Earth for his  
 “ Possession, that he may be his Salvation to all People.”

Mr. Hayley, in his Sermon before the Society, says,  
 “ I hope I may in some Measure, answer the Design of  
 “ our present Solemnity, and forward the great and  
 “ good Work which this Society is engaged in, if I  
 “ take occasion to lay before you the Nature of that  
 “ Religion we are endeavouring to propagate, and  
 “ the Duty of those Missionaries, by whose pious and  
 “ prudent Labours we hope to bring the Heathen into  
 “ Christ’s Inheritance, and the utmost Parts of the Earth  
 “ into his Possession.” † He says further, “ Let us cast  
 “ our Thoughts upon what is the direct Aim and Busi-  
 “ ness of our present Society, the Propagation of Chri-  
 “ stianity abroad, among the barbarous Nations in America,  
 “ both in the Islands and on the Continent. And here  
 “ truly are the greatest Difficulties to be encountered,  
 “ and such as nothing but the indefatigable Industry of  
 “ this Society, and a greater Number of Subscriptions  
 “ and larger Benefactions, and God’s peculiar Blessing  
 “ upon the whole, can possibly surmount. I must beg  
 “ leave therefore from this Place to call upon all Or-  
 “ ders and Degrees of Men amongst us, from the  
 “ highest to the lowest, to join in the Advancement  
 “ of this so great and so good a Work. And if they re-  
 “ tain any grateful Sense of the Benefits which they  
 “ themselves have received from the Gospel, it will  
 “ spur them on to an hearty Concurrence in this noble

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 † p. 4.



“ *Design*, and to the affording their chearful and boun-  
 “ *tiful Assistance* towards the supporting of the Mea-  
 “ *asures* which are taken for the Propagation of this  
 “ *Gospel* in Foreign Parts, in *such Parts of the World*  
 “ *as have not yet been enlightened by it, or are in Danger*  
 “ *of having it's Light extinguished amongst them.*” ‡

These Passages I have transcribed from three or four of the oldest Society Sermons I could meet with, and I have set them down in the Order in which they were preached. I chose to transcribe from the oldest I could come at, because I suppose it will be granted that the *true Intention* of the Charter, and the *original Views* and Designs of the Society were best known to them that were early Members of it, and particularly to such as were then called to preach the Anniversary Sermons. To these I will only add, that the Society themselves, speaking of their Catechists and School-Masters, say “ But *more especially* is their Care extended  
 “ to the Children of the *Heathens*, whether *Negro*  
 “ *Slaves* or *Indians* ; as being the more IMMEDIATE  
 “ CHARGE of the Society in its PRIMARY INSTITUTION.” \*

When the Society have thus in the most publick Manner acknowledged, that the *Heathen* are their *more immediate Charge* according to their *primary Institution*, I suppose they and the World will think Mr. *Beach* very bold in charging it as “ *an inexcusable, if not wilful Mistake*” in me, if I had taken it for granted, as he says I did, “ that the first and principal Design of in-  
 “ corporating the Society was to send the Gospel to  
 “ the Heathen.” p. 31. I will for once return Mr. *Beach* his own Words, “ *Methinks a small Spice of Mo-  
 “ desty* might incline him to think, that they under-  
 “ stand their own Charter and proper Work at least  
 “ as well as he does ;” and I will add, that it requires *no great Degree* of it to put him to the Blush, when he finds himself thus publickly detected in contradicting the Society (in whose Service he has been so long employed, and so well supported) and that in so essential

‡ p. 29. \* *Abstract* 1715. p. 31.



an Article as the Objects of their *more immediate Charge* in their *primary Institution*.

I never thought the Society's Care was to be *wholly confined to the Heathen*; nor have I used so strong Expressions to represent this as the *first* and *principal* Design of their being incorporated, as they themselves make use of. I own they were incorporated to provide for such Places in the Plantations as were destitute of the publick Worship and Ordinances of God, and so in danger of sinking into a State of Atheism, or being perverted to Popery, as well as to make Provision for conveying the Knowledge of the Gospel to those unhappy Nations who never heard the Sound of it. But I say that it is inconsistent with the Design of their Charter, and their own repeated and solemn Declarations for them to lay out the Charity they are entrusted with the Management of, in supporting one particular Profession or Party of Christians in a Country, where the Gospel is preached and the Sacraments administered; while other Parts of the Plantations are destitute of God's publick Worship and Ordinances, and the neighbouring *Indian* Nations remain in a State of Heathenism. So long as any of the Plantations remain in the Condition mentioned in their Charter, and the *Indians* continue unchristianized, I think it is evidently contrary to the Trust reposed in them by their Charter, and by the Contributors to their Fund, for the Society to spend *any Part* of their Income in Places where the public Worship and Ordinances are set up, and would be maintained without any Charge to them. And such a Conduct appears to me irreconcilable to their public Engagement to send their Missionaries "to such Places as *have most need*, and where they may therefore, by God's Assistance and Blessing, *do most Good*", and to the Expressions used in the Sermons they publish annually to raise Benefactions.

It is well known that a very large Part of the Plantations really was, at the Time this Charter was granted, in that melancholly State mentioned in it, and that there



there was great Danger that the very Name of Christianity would be lost, and the People become in Principle as well as Practice as absolutely Heathen as the Indians that bordered upon them. The Bishop of Oxford has justly described their Condition in these Words, "The first *European* Inhabitants there, being private Adventurers, neither numerous, nor rich, nor certain of Success, nor unanimous in Belief, established in several Provinces *no Form whatever of public Worship and Instruction*. Too many of them carried but little Sense of Christianity abroad with them : A great Part of the rest suffered it to wear out gradually : And their Children grew of Course to have yet less than they ; till in some Countries there were scarce any Footsteps of it left, beyond the mere Name. No Teacher was known, no Religious Assembly held ; the Lord's Day distinguished only by more general Dissoluteness ; the Sacrament of Baptism not administered for near twenty Years together, nor that of the Lord's Supper for sixty, amongst many thousands of People, who did not deny the Obligations of these Duties, but lived notwithstanding in a stupid Neglect of them". \* These now were the People spoken of in the Charter, and whom the Society was designed to help.

But the very Reverse of this was at that Time the true Character of *New-England* (*Rhode-Island* excepted.) Churches were erected and Ministers settled in our Towns, the Gospel was preached and the Sacraments administered, the Lord's Day was observed and public Worship attended more generally and strictly than in almost any other Part of the World.

The State of the *American* Colonies was understood by those Gentlemen that were most active in procuring the Society's Charter. The pious and charitable Dr. *Bray*, who has been stiled the *Father of the Society*, had taken more Pains perhaps than any one Man living to acquaint himself with the State of Religion in the Plan-

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\* Sermon before the Society p. 4.

tations,



tations, and procure Help for such Places as wanted it ; and the Result of his Inquiries was, that “ from New-York northward, he found *very little Need* of Missionaries for the Propagation of Christianity, the *Narraganset* Country excepted ; and in the Colonies of *Connecticut* and the *Massachusetts* NONE AT ALL”. †

Having thus considered the Intention of the Society’s Charter, and many public Declarations of their own with Regard to the Views they had and the Designs they were carrying on, which being published with a View to procure Donations, must be looked upon as *Contracts* between the Society and such as contributed towards advancing these Designs ; and having represented the State of Religion in the Plantations at the Time this Society was incorporated, I go on

To consider the Conduct of the Society, and see how far it harmonizes with the Design of their Charter, their own professed Intentions, and the just Expectations of such pious and charitable Persons as have so largely contributed to their Fund.

I readily own that it was reasonable in itself, and agreeable to the Design of their Charter, for the Society to begin with affording Help to such of the Plantations as were in the *deplorable Circumstances* mention’d in their Charter, and more fully described by the Bishop of *Oxford* in the Passage just now quoted from him. And as a great Part of the Plantations was in that State, and the Society’s Income but small, nothing could have been more just and prudent than the Resolution they came into and published, of sending their Missionaries to such Places as had *most Need*, and where they might do *most Good*. And so far as I can learn, they appear to have acted agreeable to this Resolve for about ten Years from the Time of their being incorporated. During this Period I don’t know that they sent any Missionaries into *New-England*, and that I sup-

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† *Life of Dr. Colman*, p. 142.



pose because they then tho't with Dr. *Bray*, that none were wanted. They did what they could to provide for the other Colonies, which needed their Help ; and they made some promising Beginnings in the great Work of Propagating the Gospel among the *Heathen*.

In the Abstract for the Year 1712 I find mention of a Missionary's being sent to *Braintree* ; and *Newbury* and *Stratford* are mentioned as Places that desired Missionaries, and should be taken Care of when the Society's improved Circumstances would permit, tho' several Places in *Carolina* are at the same Time mentioned as wanting Missionaries. Now had the Society acted up to the above mentioned Resolve, I believe that would have supplied these Places in *Carolina* before any of those in *New-England*. At this Time the Society's yearly Salaries to Missionaries, Catechists, and School-masters amounted to the Sum of 1745 Pounds, of which I find but 60 Pounds expended in *New-England*, about a *thirtieth Part* of the whole. While the Society did so little for *New-England* they could afford to pay 150 Pounds a Year to Mr. *Andrews*, Missionary to the *Mohawks*, and 60 Pounds to his Interpreter. Thus out of 1745 l. they then allowed 60 l. to *New-England*, and 210 l. to the *Mohawks*. But the Case is vastly altered since that Time : The *Mohawks* have now no Minister allowed them, (tho' they are said to constitute a Congregation of 500 Persons, of whom near 60 are Communicants †) but the Missionary at *Albany*, which is thirty Miles distant, takes some Care of them : While the Proportion of *New-England* is surprizingly increased ; for instead of a *thirtieth Part* of the whole Sum paid to Missionaries, Catechists and School-masters, which was the Proportion forty Years ago, *New-England* now receives better than a *third* of the whole. In the last ten Years I have seen the Account of, from 1739 to 1748 inclusive, the Society have paid to their Missionaries, Catechists and School-masters on the general Account, 31570 l. of which Sum 10860 l. has been expended in

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† *Abstr.* 1743. p. 46.



*New-England.* From this we may deduct 2410 l. laid out in the Colony of *Rhode-Island*, which needed their Help, and the remaining Sum of 8450 l. sterling has in ten Years been spent contrary to the Design of the Charter, and the original Intentions of the Society.

All Men know that Bigotry and Uncharitableness prevailed to a dreadful Degree, in the latter Part of Queen ANNE's Reign : Highchurch was then Rampant, the Ballance of Power in Europe was sacrificed to her, and *British* Liberties and the Protestant Religion lay gasping at her Feet. 'Twas at this *unhappy Season*, that the Society diverted from their original and truly noble Design, and ingaged in the *Party-Business* of promoting the Church of *England* among Presbyterians in *New-England*, instead of propagating the Gospel among such People as had no Religion at all.

The Highchurch Spirit was something broke by the Suppression of the Rebellion in 1715 ; but in a few Years recovered considerable Strength. The Party had considerable Expectations of succeeding in the Plot laid by Dr. *Atterbury* Bishop of *Rocheſter*. And just before this was detected, Mr. *Cutler* formerly Minister of *Stratford*, but then Rector of *Yale College*, Mr. *Johnson* Minister of *Westhaven*, Mr. *Wetmore* Minister of *Northhaven*, and Mr. *Brown* one of the Tutors of *Yale College*, declared for the Church of *England*, and went for Orders.

These Gentlemen's thus going for Orders was a most *fatal* Accident ; the Consequences of it have been very hurtful to the Peace of the Churches in *New-England*, and to the Interests of practical Religion in the Country : But it was more especially fatal to the Cause of Christianity, as it turned the Attention of the Society from those Places in which they were before propagating the Gospel, put an End to their Schemes for enlarging the Redeemer's Kingdom by bringing the *Heathen* into it, and fixed them in the mean Design of promoting the Church of *England*, in Places where other Churches had so long subsisted and flourished. That this  
Company's



Company's going for Orders had such a fatal Effect, is plain from the Resolution the Society came into on that Occasion, which they published in these Words, " There are lately come over from *Connecticut* Govern-  
" ment, in order to receive Episcopal Ordination and  
" return into those Parts, Mr. *Timothy Cutler*, &c---  
" whom--- the Society purpose, when qualified by Or-  
" dination, to receive into the Mission. In the mean  
" time, on Account of their small certain Income, com-  
" par'd with their certain yearly Expences, *they have*  
" come to a RESOLUTION, to suspend complying with any  
" other of the many Requests made them for the Supply of  
" several vacant Churches upon the Continent of America".

† The Society here acknowledge that they had received " many Requests for the Supply of several vacant Churches," in the other Parts of *America*, and that they had " come to a Resolution to suspend complying with any" of them, that they might employ the Charity they were entrusted with, in sending these Gentlemen to *New-England*. The World will judge whether they would not have acted more in the Character of a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, more agreeable to the true Intention of their Charter, and to the pious Designs of such as give their Money " to be applied towards carrying on the charitable Purposes for which they were incorporated", and more consistent with their own Promise of sending their Missionaries " to such Places as had most Need, and where they might do most Good", if they had sent these Gentlemen to carry the joyful News of a Saviour to the *Heathen* World; or appointed them to supply some of those vacant Churches which had applied for Missionaries, and stood vastly more in Need of the Society's Assistance. And it would not be amiss for the Gentlemen themselves seriously to consider, whether it would not have afforded them more Satisfaction in the Issue, to have been thus usefully employed, than to have spent their Days in supporting a Party,

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† *Abstr. for 1722. p 46.*



and fomenting Divisions in their Native Country, to the Prejudice of its Civil and Religious Interests; and that while maintained by Money appropriated, in the pious Intention of the Donors, to the Propagation of the happy and peaceable Kingdom of the Redeemer.

I mentioned it, in my former *Address*, as a Thing in some Degree probable, that there might be many immortal Souls now in Hell, who (had you contentedly remained in our Communion) might have spent an happy Eternity in Heaven. Mr. *Beach* says I am uncharitable in this, and that because he is persuaded “the Society don’t neglect any Opportunity of converting the Heathen, for your Sakes”. p 32. But he will now find the Society *expressly resolving* to neglect sending Missionaries to other Parts of the Plantations for the Sake of sending some hither. And I suppose Mr. *Beach* is so well acquainted with the State of the Plantations at that Time, as to know that the People thus neglected, were almost (if not altogether) as likely to perish forever as the Heathen themselves. If he doubts this let him consider what the Bishop of *Oxford* says of those Parts of the Plantations which were the proper Objects of the Society’s Care, almost twenty Years after they came to this fatal Resolution of neglecting them that they might send Missionaries hither, “at present (says his Lordship) much remains to be done, Multitudes continue, as before, in a thoughtless Disregard to almost every Part of Christianity: And Multitudes also are daily petitioning for Help; Which to some we cannot give at all; and to others so little, that they have Divine Service only once in many Weeks; and several Districts of 60, 70, and 80 Miles long have but one Minister to officiate in each of them”\*. It can’t therefore be pretended that the Society had made sufficient Provision for the other Plantations before they extended their Care to *New-England*. The Churches in this Country in which they maintain Missionaries, generally stand within a Mile,

\* *Sermon before the Society*, p. 6.



and often within a few Rods, of a Presbyterian or Congregational Church, where the People they provide for might without any Charge to the Society, constantly attend the publick Worship and Ordinances of God ; and yet they can afford to erect Missions so thick, that in the two Towns of *Fairfield* and *Stratford*, which lie contiguous, and I suppose contain less than twelve hundred Families between them, there are no less than five Churches built, and three Missionaries supported by the Society, and that tho' there are in these two Towns eight Presbyterian Churches, at which every Person in them might, without receiving any Assistance from the Society, constantly attend the publick Worship of God ; and all that have a sufficient Knowledge of Christianity, and are free from Scandal in their Lives, might partake of all the Ordinances of the Gospel. Would not a well-regulated Zeal for the Glory of God, and Charity to the Souls of Men direct the Removal of these Missionaries from Places that do not need them, to those Parts of the Plantations where such “ MULTITUDES are daily petitioning for Help, which to some the Society cannot AFFORD AT ALL ; and to others SO LITTLE ” as has been said ?

This Conduct of the Society in neglecting the Heathen World, and such as though they call themselves Christians, live “ in a thoughtless Disregard to almost every Part of Christianity,” and so are in danger of a greater Condemnation than the Heathen ; and in refusing the earnest Petitions of such as cannot without their Assistance enjoy the Worship and Ordinances of God in any Form ; and expending a publick Charity in endeavouring to proselite professed and serious Christians to a particular Sect or Party, would be condemned by the Society themselves in Men of any other Profession : And therefore they may justly expect that all others will condemn it in them. Hear how they speak of such a Conduct in the *Romish* Church, “ Their Missions (says the Bishop of *St. Asaph* in his Sermon before the Society, printed and dispersed by them) do not seem to be managed with an *Apostolical Simplicity*.”



“ plicity. They settle themselves in Nations which  
 “ are Christians already, and have been so from the  
 “ Beginning ; and under the Pretence of converting  
 “ the Infidels that are among them, their chief Busi-  
 “ ness seems to be, to apply themselves with all their  
 “ Arts to pervert the Christians themselves from their  
 “ ancient Faith ; and to draw them over to a Subjec-  
 “ tion to the Pope : The Want of which Submission is  
 “ what they think the greatest Error they find among  
 “ them, and which they zealously endeavour to eradicate,  
 “ while the Infidels are very sparingly (if ever) applied  
 “ to by them.” † Let any Person of Observation in  
 this Country read over again the Passage I have now  
 quoted, and only change the Word *Pope* into the Word  
*Bishops*, and let his Conscience say, whether it be not  
 a *very exact* and lively Description of the Conduct of the  
 Society for Propagation of the Gospel, and of their  
 Missionaries in *New-England*.

It is surprizing that Men should undertake publicly  
 to justify that in themselves, which their own Reason  
 and Conscience oblige them as publicly to condemn  
 in others. However, since my Antagonists have un-  
 dertaken the *difficult Task* of vindicating the Conduct  
 of the Society in erecting and supporting Missions in  
*New-England*, it will be proper for me briefly to con-  
 sider what they have said.

And here

Tis said, in the first Place, that *Church of England*  
*People have a Right of judging for themselves, and of hav-*  
*ing Ministers of their own.* To this I have nothing to  
 object: Provided only Dr. *Johnson* will allow the same  
 Right of private Judgment, and Liberty of Conscience  
 to others, which he claims for Men of his own Profes-  
 sion ; and bear a publick Testimony against his Brethren  
 who deny Men that just Liberty in this Respect, which  
 the Laws of Nature and the Gospel of Christ grant and  
 confirm to them.

In the next Place, it is pretended that the Professors



of the Church of *England* in this Country, are *poor* and *oppressed*, and so unable to support the publick Worship of God without the Society's Help ; and that it is therefore an Act of truly Christian Charity in the Society to maintain Ministers for them. To this I reply (1.) That admitting all that is pleaded on these Heads, the Society's Conduct cannot be justified. The Question is not whether they are Objects of Charity ; but whether a Charity appropriated to another Use, may be applied to their Benefit, without Breach of Trust in those who are only Stewards or *Almoners* for other Persons ? Mr. *Caner* has strangely mistaken me when he represents it as " my professed Design to " prove ---- that the raising a charitable Fund for this " Purpose [i. e. the sending Missionaries into these " Parts] is a notorious Abuse." *Append.* p. 67. I believe all the rest of my Readers understood me as saying, that there was no Fund at all raised for this Purpose, and that the Abuse consisted in applying to this Use a Fund that was sacred to another, and a much nobler and more important Design.

I reply further, if the Society really act upon this Principle, it must be supposed that they afford the largest Assistance, to those Places that are least able to support the publick Worship without their Help. But my Antagonists know better than to pretend that this is truly the Case : So far are they from this, that they allow seventy Pounds Sterling *per Annum* to a Missionary, ten Pounds to a Catechist, and fifteen Pounds to a School-Master in *Stratford*, when it is well known that the Church People in that Town are sufficiently able to support these of themselves, and therefore it is no Charity in the Society to do it for them ; while at the same Time some of the smallest and weakest Missions have but twenty Pounds a Year allowed them by the Society. So that the Plea of the Peoples Poverty is a *mere Pretence*, and would not justify the Society's Conduct, even though the Charity they distribute were not so appropriated as we have before seen it really is.

What



What they say of the Hardships and Oppressions they suffer in this Country, is much of the same Nature. The Bishop of *Oxford* complains, that Churchmen in *New-England* are rated to the Support of the Independent Ministers. He says that the Anabaptists were, on their Petition, excused from paying this Rate; and the Quakers, without petitioning: But the Petition of the Churchmen was rejected. And he thinks that they, "lying under peculiar Burdens, --- seem of Right entitled to some peculiar Assistance in return." ‡ I am apt to think his Lordship was misinformed as to the Fact; and am assured that there were Laws made to ease the Members of the Church of *England* in this Case both in the *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut*, long before the Year 1740, when his Lordship made this Complaint; and I am sure that the Law in *Connecticut* grants them more Favour in this Respect than Bishop *Gibson* in his Letter to Governor *Talcot* requested for them. But then, supposing the Fact; if this were truly the Reason of their supporting Missionaries here, they ought to have dissolved their Missions when this Reason ceased; which they themselves acknowledge it did in a Year or two after this Complaint was thus made. They say, "The Society hath the Pleasure of being --- informed ---" "that the Assembly of the Province of *Massachusetts-Bay* --- hath at length --- past a Law; which frees the" "Members of the Church of *England* in that Province" "from paying to the Support of what the Independents there call the established Religion." \* And yet, though they own the "peculiar Burdens" are removed, they are so far from withdrawing the "peculiar Assistance" they pretend to have afforded on that Account, that they have since increased the Number of their Missionaries in that Province.

Mr. *Beach*'s calling the Churchmen in this Country "Beggars," p. 39. may perhaps be well enough taken, though such an Expression in another Man would doubt-

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‡ *Sermon*, p. 29. \* *Abstr.* 1742.



less have been esteemed a "*scurvy Reflection*." But the two Instances he gives of their being oppressed, will not bear Examination. The first is, that they are not excused from paying their Proportion of the Taxes raised for defraying the publick Charges of the Government, p. 29. 'Tis impossible I find to make some Men easy ; if you grant them one Thing, they have still another to ask ; and if you deny their most unreasonable Requests, they will fill the Country with a Noise and Clamour of their being injured and oppressed. This is the very Temper of our Episcopal Separatists ; they used to complain of it as a Hardship, that they were obliged to pay to the Support of our Ministers, and our Government generously released them from this Obligation, though wherever that Church has the Ascendant, at Home or Abroad, they constantly oblige all Dissenters, Ministers and People, to pay to their Support. One would have hoped such an Indulgence should have satisfied them, and that now they would have approved themselves quiet peaceable Subjects to the Government they live under. But Mr. *Beach* is not content with this ; his poor Hearers are obliged to pay toward the Support of the Civil Government they live under. What a "*peculiar Burden*" is this ? Were ever any People so oppressed before ? ---- But he says their Neighbours living in the same Parish are excused from paying the Colony Rate. The Case was truly this, When the People at *Reading* first moved to be made a Parish, they were few in Number and just beginning to subdue a rough uncultivated Wilderness : Mr. *Beach* was then a Presbyterian Minister at *New-Town*, and some of these People attended his Ministry ; when he turned Churchman, some of his Hearers at *Reading* turned with him : and these represented it to their Neighbours, that if they would but turn to the Church, the Society would maintain them a Minister ; and if not, they would have very heavy Taxes to pay to settle and support one for themselves ; and thus prevailed with some others to joyn them. The People  
of



of *Reading* being thus weakened, petitioned the Government, that in Consideration of their being few and poor, and obliged to be at so great an Expence to set up and maintain the publick Worship, they might be exempted for a few Years from paying the Colony Rate ; and this Petition was granted. But when the Churchmen some Time after petitioned for the like Favour, as they could not make the same Plea, since their Minister had a Salary allowed him by the Society, their Request was justly denied. Mr. *Beach* says “ as soon as any Man will leave the Church, HE IS REWARDED “ by an Exemption from paying any Taxes to the Govern- “ ment.” p. 29. I suppose any Man who takes his Notions of *Reading* from this Piece of Mr. *Beach*’s, will think that a Man there promotes his temporal Interest by leaving the Church and turning Presbyterian, or that such an one will have less Taxes to pay afterwards, than he had before, supposing his Estate to be the same. But now Mr. *Beach* knows that the very Reverse of this is true ; and He and his People know how to use this as an Argument to induce their Neighbours to turn to the Church. Thus Men who are not seeking the Truth, but promoting a Party will turn into any Shape : But is this *honest* ? Is it acting like a Man that expects to answer to his “ Eternal Judge” ?

The other Instance of Oppression which Mr. *Beach* groans under, and which indeed seems almost to make this wise Man mad, is his not being allowed any Part of the Purchase Money, when the Town of *Fairfield* sold their Parsonage Lands. For this he taxes me personally as living in a “ continued Act of Unrighteousness”, and with being “ accessory to the Damnation” of Men, and he “ prays God that this Piece of Injustice may not be laid to my Charge”. p. 30. It is not easy drawing up a blacker Charge than this against a Man, and yet if he did not know that there was no Foundation for it, nor the least Truth in it, he was too ignorant of the Affair to have said any thing about it, and therefore ought either to have informed himself of the true State of it, or else



else to have been silent about it. He might easily have known that the Money he speaks of, has never been one single Penny Advantage to me, for the Interest of it never was designed or applied as an Addition to my Salary ; but as an Abatement of the Taxes of my People. They agreed at my Settlement to allow me a certain annual Salary, they had then some Lands which they rented out, and what the Rent fell short of my Salary, was raised by a Rate ; after some Time they sold the Land, and when the Interest of the Money did not make up my Salary, the remainder was still raised by a Rate. Yet for this I am publickly charged with Injustice and Unrighteousness, and which is much worse, God himself is solemnly mocked, by being prayed to, not to lay this Sin to my Charge. I will only say farther, that neither Mr. *Beach* nor his People had any Injustice done them in the Case, for neither *he* nor *they* had the least Right to these Lands or to the Money they sold for, the Money is appropriated to the same Use for which the Lands were granted ; and if all Mr. *Beach's* Hearers, that at the Time these Lands were sold, lived within what were the Bounds of *Fairfield* when the Lands were granted, had been allowed a Part of this Money proportioned either to their Numbers or Estate, I can scarce think it would have bro't them in *twenty Shillings* a Year. For his Church stands, and almost all his Hearers then lived upon Lands that did not originally belong to *Fairfield*, but were annexed to it long enough since the Grant of the Parsonage Lands.

The Gentleman must I think have been *extremely* put to it, to find Hardships and Oppressions to complain of, or he would never have mentioned these Instances. And his publishing these Things as what made it proper for the Society to take your "*SAD CASE into their Consideration, and to assist in supporting Orthodox Ministers among you,*" is one Instance of his endeavouring to deceive and impose upon the Society and the World.

Mr. *Beach*, that he might bring your "*sad Case*" within the Expression of the Society's Charter, and so



intitle you to their Assistance, represents the Matter as though there was great Danger of your being “*abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity*, if the Society should “*withdraw their Charity from you.*” p. 29. But why so? Are there not Places of publick Worship near enough for you to attend, where the Gospel is preached and the Ordinances of it administred? Yes, but these are Presbyterians or Independents; and you must “*act contrary to your Consciences*” to joyn with them. And is it come to this at last? Is this the Effect of your separating from us? Are you under the Power of such *evil Consciences* as dictate, that it is better to have no Religion at all than to joyn with the Presbyterians? It has been the *Rant* of High-church for some Time, *Better a Papist than a Presbyterian*. Mr. *Wetmore* carried it further, when he declared he had rather joyn with the *Jews* than with us; and if Mr. *Beach* means that you had better turn Infidels and Atheists than joyn with our Churches, he is got to the very Top of the Ladder. But if he means that this would in Fact be the Case, because you could not in Conscience joyn with us, and would in such Circumstances have no where else to attend publick Worship: I reply, that all the Danger of this arises from those *stingy* and uncharitable *Party-Principles*, which he and his Fellow-Missionaries have instilled into you. The sober religious Part of the Professors of the Church of *England* in this Country, joined in Communion with our Churches before they had Missionaries, and they do so still where they have none; and some of them, observing the evil Consequences of your Separation, and judging the Society’s supporting Missionaries in this Country a Misapplication of a publick Charity, have refused to apply to them, and opposed the erecting Missions in the Places where they dwell.

’Tis very unfair in the Society, or their Missionaries, first to create the Necessity they speak of, and then to plead that Necessity in Vindication of their Conduct. And if they go on, as they have begun, to propagate Bigotry and Uncharitableness, I fear the Consequence will



will be the promoting of Infidelity and Atheism ; nor will their sending more Missionaries into the Country, even though they should employ their whole Income this Way, be effectual to prevent it ; unless they send a very different sort of Men from the most we have yet seen. For, I own, it is past doubt with me, that the Missionaries, by spreading their rigid High-flying Notions in the Country, have done more towards introducing Infidelity among us, than all the Deistical Books that have been imported.

The last Thing Mr. *Beach* pleads in Vindication of the Society, is, “ That their supporting Missionaries in “ *New-England*, is no Hindrance to their sending Missionaries to instruct and convert the Heathen.” p. 32. Now if Mr. *Beach* will own them for Heathen, who live in a “ thoughtless Disregard to almost every Part of Christianity,” pay no Regards to the Creator of the World, or the Redeemer of fallen Men, have no publick Worship or Ordinances among them, and so are destitute of the appointed Means of Salvation, and live *without God in the World* ; if I say, he will allow these to be called *Heathen*, I have already proved from the Society’s publick Acknowledgment, that they came to a deliberate *Resolution* to neglect these, that they might employ their Income in sending Missionaries into *New-England*. And if he will confine the Name of *Heathen* to the Nations that have never heard the Sound of the Gospel, it is certain that *these* have been (and still are) to an astonishing Degree neglected by the Society, while they expend *so many Thousands* in supporting the Episcopal Separation in *New-England*.

’Tis a poor Shift indeed to pretend that the *Indians* Aversion to Christianity excuses the Society from making any Attempts to convert them to it. Had the Apostles and primitive Christians been of Mr. *Beach*’s Mind in this Case, Christianity had probably never made any Progress in the World. I hope Mr. *Beach* does not mean that so long as the *Indians* have an Aversion to Christianity, the Society are excusable in letting them alone ;



alone; but if once they should embrace it in the Form of Presbyterianism or Independency, it would be Time to send Missionaries to convert them to the Episcopacy and Liturgy of the Church of *England*.

The "Attempts to convert the *Iroquois* Indians", which Mr. *Beach* boasts of as having been carried on "for almost fifty Years past", were undoubtedly well meant, and they were for a while carried on with some Vigour. The Society in their Abstract for the Year 1712, acquaint the Publick with their having erected a Mission among the *Mohawks*; in that for 1714 Mr. *Andrews*, their Missionary, writes of the Encouragement and Success he met with, and the Society propose the "erecting a *Charity-School* among these Indians". The *Onondages* are mentioned as being some of them baptized, and we are told that the *Onidan* Indians will be the next Care of the Society: These are said to be "a Nation consisting of a considerable Number of People, whose Castle is about 100 Miles distant from that of the *Mohawks*". There is likewise in the same Abstract an Account of Endeavours to convert the Infidels on the Frontiers of both *Carolina's*. In the Abstract for 1715, we have further Accounts of Mr. *Andrews's* Success among the *Mohawks*; the Instructions for the Missionaries employed in this Grand Affair of converting the Heathen, are inserted at large; and among the Missionaries that are "called for importunately", one is said to be for "the Indians stiled *Onondonawga's*". Thus the Society seemed to be in Earnest in endeavouring to propagate the Gospel among the Heathen for a While: But since they have been unhappily prevailed with to ingage in the Design of converting Presbyterians and Independents to the Church of *England*, the God of this *World* has been suffered, almost without Opposition, to possess his usurped Dominion over the Heathen Nations.

I observed in my former, that the Missionary at *Albany* preached sometimes to the *Mohawks*, and two *Indians* of that Tribe were hired for very small Salaries to teach



teach School ; and that excepting these small Matters, the numerous Nations of *Indians* that border on the *British* Plantations, were, so far as I could find, wholly left to perish in Heathenish Darkeness and Idolatry, without any Attempt made by the Society to relieve them. And when I see how little my Antagonists have to say on this Head, I am satisfied that there was no Mistake in my former Account. Mr. *Beach* does indeed say that the Society have “eagerly laid hold of every Opportunity that has presented to christianize the Heathen” ; but besides the Affair of the *Iroquois*, which has been considered, he only informs us that “they have sent two Missionaries to instruct the *Moskito* Indians upon the Borders of *New-Spain*”. I suppose he is mistaken in saying *two Missionaries*, for I find the Resolution of the Society was to send *one Missionary* † ; and Mr. *Prince* is the only Man named in the Society’s List as a Missionary to the *Moskito* Indians. And indeed it did not discover so much *Eagerness* as Mr. *Beach* boasts of, in laying hold of this Opportunity for christianizing the Heathen, that the Society spent so much Time in endeavouring to persuade either the *Indians* themselves or the Government of *Jamaica* to support the Missionary ‡, that tho’ the Letter from the *Indians* requesting Assistance bears Date *May 19th, 1739*, yet Mr. *Prince* at the Time of his Death, *July 25th. 1748*, had not reached the Place of his Mission. And it seems as if the Society’s losing Time in attempting to procure a Support for their Missionary from the *poor* *Indians*, or from the Island of *Jamaica*, did not proceed from the low State of their own Fund, but from a Desire to keep this to enable them to increase the Number of their Missionaries in *New-England* ; and they have actually increased it since that Time. In the Abstract for the Year 1743, in which the Society first mention the Case of the *Moskito* Indians, the Number of Missionaries, Catechists and School-masters in *New-England*, is *twenty-one*, and in the Abstract for 1748 the Number

† *Abstr.* 1743, p. 50. ‡ *Abstr.* 1743.



is *twenty-five* ; Thus notwithstanding their *Eagerness* in laying hold of this Opportunity of Christianizing the Heathen, they could send *four* Missionaries &c. to *New-England* sooner than *one* to these *Indians*.

I will at present mention but one particular Instance of the Society's neglecting a fair Opportunity of christianizing the Heathen. The late Reverend Mr. *Sergeant's* Scheme for erecting a *Boarding-School* for the Education of *Indian* Children, was published *Anno* 1743 ; and the most capable Judges in Affairs of that Nature, allowed it to be the best concerted Scheme that had been published, for civilizing and christianizing the Heathen in these Parts of the World. Mr. *Sergeant* and his Design were publicly recommended to the Society by Dr. *Colman* ; and as the Society have some Members, and a large Number of Missionaries in this Country, it cannot be tho't that they were all of them so *criminally* negligent as not to mention it to the Society. Nay, it is well known that the Design was much talked of and highly approved in *London*, and that several Persons of Distinction, one (if not more) of them Members of the Society, gave Money towards carrying it into Execution : But the Society as a Body did nothing to forward it. And when Mr. *Sergeant* in the latter Part of his Life, was under great Discouragements, and met with Difficulties in supporting his Family, I can name the Missionary that urged him to give up the Design of converting the Heathen, and to go for Orders, and offered to procure him a Mission in a Town that had a Presbyterian Minister already settled in it : The Account of which I had from Mr. *Sergeant's* own Mouth, not long before his much lamented Death.

Dr. *Johnson* and Mr. *Caner* may perhaps think themselves able to justify the Society in this : they both of them observe that the Society are according to the Expression of their Charter, to provide for " the Maintenance of an *orthodox* Clergy in Foreign Parts" † ; and

† *Preface*, p. 4. and *Append.* p. 68.



they are so *exceeding Catholic* as to confine this Expression to their own Communion. But I wonder who told these Gentlemen that “orthodox Clergy” meant “the Clergy of the Church of *England*” exclusive of all others. ’Tis well known that King WILLIAM who granted this Charter, was himself a *Calvinist*; and therefore, if the known Sense of the *Grantor* be a good Rule for interpreting the Words of a Grant, the Expression “an orthodox Clergy” must mean *Calvinist Ministers*. If they think that none but the Clergy of the Church of *England* are in a *legal* Sense orthodox Ministers, Dr. *Mac-Sparran* can inform them how that Matter was determined by the King in Council, in the Case between him and Mr. *Torrey*. If they don’t care to go so far as *Naragansett* for Information, let them consult the Charter itself, in the first Paragraph of which they will find “orthodox Ministers” opposed to “*Romish Priests*”, and so plainly meaning *Protestant Ministers*. And the Society themselves understood their Charter in this Sense thirty Years ago, before the *unhappy Design* of profeliting *New-England* was so fully come into. Dr. *Waddington*, in his Sermon before the Society, supposes that some would object that “not Christianity itself, but the “Faith and Practice of *one Community only* of Christians “would be propagated”, and in replying to it, he says “no such *particular Design* is mentioned in our “Charter”. \*

After all, perhaps some will pretend that the Society have no Design of profeliting *New-England*; and that they mean no more than to provide for the Edification of such as are already Churchmen, without endeavouring to increase the Number. To this I reply, Mr. *Wetmore* who has been a Missionary almost thirty Years, speaks of it as the Business they are employed in, to “endeavour to profelite Men from every Sect to the Communion of the established Church;” † the Missionaries continually send home Accounts of the Numbers

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\* p. 32. † *Wetmore’s Vind.* p. 6.

they



they have profelited, and the Society publish these Accounts as the Fruit of their "*pious Labours*;" and further the Society themselves say, that they have "tho't proper to establish a Catechetical Lecture, and for Grammar Learning at *Boston*, with the Advice and under the Inspection of the Honourable *William Shirley* Esq; the worthy Governor of the Province," and the Advantage they propose in it, is (among other Things) that it will "recommend the Principles of the Church of *England* with great Advantage and Success;" ‡ accordingly they appointed Mr. *Roe* their Catechist at *Boston*. What the Success was, and with how "great Advantage" it recommended the Church of *England* in *Boston*, is so generally known that I need say nothing of it.

These Things are I think sufficient to convince all unprejudiced Persons, that the Conduct of the Society, in erecting such *numerous* Missions in *New-England*, is contrary to the Design of their Charter, and to what they have often published to the World as their own Intention; that it is very different from the Representations made annually, in the Sermons preached and published to raise Contributions throughout the Nation, for enabling them to carry on their Designs; that, neglecting the Heathen World, and those Plantations that differ from the Heathen only in having the Name of Christians, and by being more irreligious and profane, they apply *vast Sums* to the mean Party-Design of converting Presbyterians and Independents into Churchmen; thus acting the very Part which they so freely and justly condemn in the Society *de propaganda Fide*; and that all the Pleas used by their Advocates are insufficient to justify or excuse their Conduct. The Facts that have been mentioned are such stubborn Things as not to bend to Humours, nor even to the Characters of Men: I have endeavoured to represent them *freely* and yet *honestly*. I can truly say that it grieves me to find them bear so hard on the Character of the Society;

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‡ *Abstr.* 1743. p. 42.

especially



especially if I may depend on what Mr. *Beach* says, that “to suppose them ignorant of the State of the Country, “is to deny them common Sense” p. 31 : But I confess I still think them misled by the wrong Informations they receive from hence, and therefore suppose the Missionaries and not the Society are chiefly to blame.

It is indeed true, as Mr. *Beach* observes, that “both the King’s Governors in *New-England* are Members of the Society” : But whether Gentlemen that have such a Multiplicity of the most important Civil Affairs to transact, find much Leisure to correspond with the Society, I cannot say. ’Tis likewise true that “Bishop *Barkley*, a Member of that venerable Body, resided “in *New-England* for some time”; and that “upon his “Return he preached the annual Sermon, and gave an “Account of the religious State of the Country” : But whether he was “personally acquainted with” any Number of “the most eminent of our Ministers” I confess I do not know. In the general it is well enough known, that “this great and good Man”, as Mr. *Beach* very justly styles him, partly thro’ Indisposition, and partly thro’ a close Application to his beloved Studies, lived a very retired Life while in this Country. He saw very little of *New-England*, was hardly ever off *Rhode-Island*; never in *Connecticut*; nor at *Boston* till he went thither to take Passage for *London*. Accordingly the Bishop confines the Account in his Sermon almost wholly to *Rhode-Island*, and I think he describes it very justly. He does indeed say that *some Part* of his Description may possibly be found to extend to other Colonies; but which Part, or what other Colonies he does not say; and that, I suppose, because he was sensible he had not a sufficient Acquaintance with the other Colonies to describe them particularly : And it is not to be wondered at, if he thought them more like *Rhode-Island* in Point of Religion, than they really are. And further, he supposes the Society informed of the State and Progress of Religion in this Part of the World, by their Correspondencies with the Clergy upon their Mission.

Now



Now in the Accounts published by the Society as received from their Missionaries in this Country, there are many Things misrepresented ; and that in such a Manner as directly tends to lead them into a very *wrong and hurtful* Way of acting. I have mentioned some Instances of this Kind in my former *Address*, and in this have justified those of them that were disputed. My first Design was to have mentioned a great many more in this Place, and I had made a pretty large Collection for that Purpose : But as my Book has already swelled to larger Dimensions than I should have chosen, I am obliged to be shorter on this Head than I intended. I shall therefore mention a few Particulars, which if I had Room for it, might be more largely insisted on.

1. The *Number* of Churchmen is magnified much beyond the Belief of those that live upon the Spot, and are well able to judge in the Case. By a *Churchman* I suppose the Society understand one that is so from Principle, and evidences his Sincerity by a constant Attendance upon the Service of the Church, on Lord's Days at least, whenever he has Opportunity for it. But if we subtract from the Numbers sent home, all that have turned to the Church from some known and unreasonable Disaffections to the Minister or People they forsook ; all that have gone from us to avoid paying their Rates, or because they were under Censure, or liable to it for immoral Behaviour ; and all who have not Religion enough to carry them *statedly* to any publick Worship at all, it will very much lessen the Account ; and, if I compute right, in some Places take away above half : And yet 'tis plain none of these ought to be taken into the Number of those whom the Society are in Charity obliged to help, because they cannot in Conscience join with us.

2. The *Places* in which there are Churches, or is said to be Need of them, are misrepresented. Thus

Ripton



*Ripton* which is only a Parish belonging to the Town of *Stratford*, is called "a Town about eight Miles from *Stratford*," in Dr. *Johnson's* Account published in the Abstract for 1746: So *Stratfield* is mentioned as distinct from *Fairfield* and *Stratford*: It has a Church erected in it, and bids fair for being recommended as a Place proper to be made a Mission; though the Churches of *Fairfield* and *Stratford* are but eight Miles asunder, and *Stratfield* is a Village or Parish lying Mid-way between them, and made partly of one and partly of the other of these Towns. In the Abstract for 1747, I find Mention of "the Town of *Waterbury*" and "the neighbouring Town of *Westbury*," and in the next Paragraph *Northbury* is mentioned as though it were a third Town; and they sound as well as if they were three of the largest Towns in *Connecticut*; when yet I am told by those that know the Places well, that all three of them make only one Town, and that comparatively small and inconsiderable. But what is to me still more unaccountable, is, that the Removal of the late Mr. *Richard Caner* to the Church of *Staten-Island* is said to be "a Reward for his faithful Service in the Care of the Churches of *Northfield*, *Ridgfield* and *Norwalk*, within the extensive Cure of his Brother the Rev. Mr. *Henry Caner*, the Society's worthy Missionary at *Fairfield* in *Connecticut*." ‡

I have lived almost twenty Years at *Fairfield* in *Connecticut*, and cannot remember ever to have heard of any Place, large or small, in this Part of the Country, that ever was known or called by the Name of *Northfield*: I have inquired of such as I thought most likely to inform me, and can hear of no such Place. I would therefore suppose it misprinted, if I knew of any Name of a Place that resembled it in Sound or Spelling; and should have thought it put for *Norwalk*, especially since the Society sometimes write *Northwalk*, were it not that this is mentioned in the same Sentence as a different Place. There is no *Northfield* that I know of nearer to us than

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‡ *Abstr.* 1745, p. 47.



the Town of that Name upon *Connecticut* River, which is near an hundred Miles distant. If this be the Place intended, I don't wonder that Mr. *Caner's* Cure is represented as an *extensive* one; tho' otherwise I don't know that it was remarkable for its Extent: But then I very much question whether Mr. *Caner* or his Brother ever saw this Place.

3. The Society are deceived with Regard to the *Character* of the Persons that desire to have Missionaries sent, their *Earnestness* in the Case, and their *Readiness* to contribute in Proportion to their Abilities to support the Church. The Accounts sent home have been wrong in *all* these Particulars. It is credibly reported that those who have signed Petitions for Missionaries, have (to appear like Persons of some Consideration) been sometimes dignified with Civil or Military Titles which they had no Right to; but what I principally aim at, is their moral or *Religious* Character. And here I observe that in the Society's Accounts they are generally described as *good People, well-meaning People, serious and Religious People*, and the like. Now though I will not deny that some of them deserve these Characters, and though I heartily wish they all did; yet it cannot be pretended that these Characters are applicable to them taken in general. It is notorious that in many Places they are generally of a bad moral Character, and that many Persons have been by one Means or other prevailed with to Petition for Missionaries, who care nothing about the Church of *England*, nor indeed about any Religion.

The Society have published to the World, under the Head of Accounts received from *New-England*, "That  
" there is not a large Town in that Country, where  
" there are not *many Persons* professing themselves of  
" their Communion." \* To which I will only say, that every Man of Observation in the Country, knows this to be a Misrepresentation.

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\* *Abstr.* 1743, p. 44.



With Regard to the *Earnestness* of the People, and their *Readiness* to do all they can to support the Church, the Society say that they are informed “ by a joint  
“ Letter from their Missionaries in those Parts, that  
“ it is Matter of great Comfort to them to see in all  
“ Places the *earnest Zeal* of the People in *pressing for-*  
“ *ward* into the Church, --- insomuch that now *they think*  
“ *nothing too much* to do, to qualify them for obtaining  
“ of Missionaries from the Society.” †

And five or six Places are named as being under the Influence of this Paroxysm of Zeal, and being thus ready to this good Work : I will mention one of them as a Sample, “ The good People of *Stanford* --- have built  
“ a Church, --- and they have conveyed to the Society  
“ by a Deed of Gift *an House* and seven Acres of Land,  
“ for the Use of the Rector of that Church for the Time  
“ being forever.” The Society, and such as know nothing of the Affair but what they learn from this publick Account, no doubt suppose the Rector of *Stanford* Church lives in a comfortable parsonage House, which his People in their great Zeal purchased for him : While in Truth there is *no House at all* upon the Lot thus made over to the Society. The Case was this, “ The good People of *Stanford* having an “ *earnest Zeal*” for the Church, and thinking “ *nothing too much to do* to qualify themselves” for so great a Blessing as to have a Missionary sent them, and understanding one was to be obtained on no other Terms than their providing *an House* and Land for him, purchased a Lot of Land which had an old House upon it, neither habitable nor worth repairing. This they conveyed to the Society, and upon this they had a Missionary appointed ; who soon after his Arrival demolished the old Building.

4. The Society are imposed on, as some of their Missionaries encourage, or at least connive at, their continuing Men in their Pay after they have left their Service. The Missionaries not content with the *large Sa-*

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† *Abst.* 1747, p. 54.

laries



laries they receive from the Society, have got into a Method of late, to have their Sons as soon as they leave the College, as it were by way of *Perquisite*, entered into the Society's Pay under the Name of *Catechists*. And when these young Gentlemen, after officiating a while, decline the Study of Divinity and engage in some other Employments, their Fathers are not always so speedy as they should be in giving Notice of it to the Society; but sometimes let their Pay run on for a Year or two after they have left the Service. This is the Case of Dr. *Johnson*: The Society upon his Motion, did in the Year 1746, appoint his Son "Catechist to the Church of *Ripton*, under the Care and Direction of his Father, with a Salary of ten Pounds [Sterling] *per Annum* for that Service;" the young Gentleman did not chuse the Study of Divinity, and therefore soon went into that of the Law, and has for a considerable Time made a very handsome Appearance at the Barr: Yet I find him continued in Pay as a Catechist in three successive Lists published by the Society, and one of them (that for the Year 1748) the latest I have seen, and so far as I can learn the latest that is come over.

There is another Instance at *Stratford* more difficult to be accounted for. The Society appointed a Schoolmaster there about fifteen Years ago, and he is still continued in their Pay at fifteen Pounds Sterling *per Annum*; tho' for a considerable Part of the Time (my Informers think better than half) he has kept no School at all. It is indeed said that he allows one third (some say half) of his Salary to a Man that does teach School there. Thus one half, if not two thirds of this Money is wholly lost for a Number of Years, and the Society I suppose are kept in Ignorance of it.

It would not be very difficult mentioning more Cases wherein the Society are imposed on by their Missionaries, or giving more Instances under most that have been named: But these shall suffice, at least till more are called for.

As I was sensible that the Society had received these  
and



and such like Misrepresentations of the Affairs of this Country, and found the late Bishop *Gibson* owning in his Letter to Governor *Talcot*, that for some Time after his Promotion to the See of *London* he was so unacquainted with the State of *New-England*, as not to know that *Connecticut* was a Government distinct from the *Massachusetts*; I tho't it very probable that the Society might not have very clear and distinct Notions of the Religious State of the Country. And on this Account I tho't myself obliged in Justice as well as Charity, to suppose that their acting a Part so unjustifiable in itself, and in its Consequences so prejudicial to this Country and to the general Interests of Religion in *America*, proceeded from their not being well acquainted with the true State of this Part of the World. And now I leave the Society to judge what Thanks are due to those Gentlemen, who by their Misrepresentations have led them to act in such a Manner; and now, under a Pretence of vindicating their Conduct, insist upon it that they have knowingly acted this unjustifiable Part. Mr. *Caner* may banter me, if he pleases, upon my being "resolved to remove this Guilt (of suffering the Society to be misled) from my Self"; Mr. *Beach* may represent me as casting "scurvy Reflections" on the Society, and those who know no better may please themselves with thinking what the Society would do to me, if they should chance to see what I have written. These Things don't at all move me; and I am so far from being afraid or ashamed that the Society should see my Book, that I shall think myself obliged to the Missionary that shall send it to them.

Thus have I gone thro' the Task set me by my Antagonists; I have endeavoured to justify the Facts and Arguments used in my former *Address*, and to reply to every Thing my Adversaries have said, that appeared to me to enter into the Merits of the Cause; I have done this with a View to afford you the best Light I could, to assist you in forming a right Judgment in this Controversy;



Controversy ; and to lead you into such a Conduct as you may at last reflect upon with Satisfaction. And now, my Brethren, it belongs to you seriously to consider what has been said on both Sides ; it becomes you to lay aside Passion and Resentment, Prejudices and Prepossessions of every kind, and calmly to attend to the Voice of Truth and Reason, which indeed is the Voice of God. If you study this Controversy with such a Disposition of Mind, I can't help thinking your own Consciences will on the whole dictate some such Remarks as these, with which I shall close this Address.

I. That there is a great Part of my former *Address* which my Antagonists (tho' four to one) don't so much as *attempt* to answer, and which therefore must be allowed to stand in full Force against you and your Cause. About one Quarter of my former was taken up in shewing the *Inexpedience* or *Imprudence* of submitting to the Church of *England* in this Country. This led me to consider the Constitution of that Church in some very important Articles, and to name some of the many ill Effects of its being received and established amongst us. Here, if you would act like reasonable Beings, if you would see with your own Eyes, and judge for yourselves, turn to my former *Address*, and read from the 44th to the 79th Page ; and then go thro' Mr. *Beach's Vindication* with the *Preface* and both the *Appendixes*, and see if you can find any Thing that so much as looks like an Answer to my Arguments on these Heads ; see if any one of my numerous Antagonists so much as pretends that I have misrepresented the Constitution of their Church, or attempts to shew that these *fatal* Consequences would not follow upon the general Reception of it in this Country. Instead of this you will find them endeavouring in an artful Manner to get over these Things, without entering into the Merits of the Cause. Dr. *Johnson* endeavours to *divert* you from considering this Part of the Controversy, and to *complement* you into an utter Disregard to it, " I make no doubt  
" (says



“ (says he) but you will be *too wise* to take *any Notice*  
 “ of Mr. *Hobart's idle and insignificant Talk*, whereby  
 “ he attempts to fright you with --- the Imprudence of  
 “ adhering to our *best of Churches*, with Regard to your  
 “ Interest in this World, or the Danger of so doing  
 “ with Regard to the World to come”. *Pref. p. 7.* To  
 this your own Minds, if calm and unruffled, will *natural-*  
*ly* dictate such a Reply as this, That nothing is easier  
 than to call the strongest Arguments “ *idle and insigni-*  
*ficant Talk*”; and if *this* be admitted as a *satisfactory*  
 Way of writing upon Controversies of Importance, it is  
 not worth While to be at the Charge and Labour ne-  
 cessary to acquire Learning.

Mr. *Wetmore* says that this Part of my Address “ is  
 very foreign to any Purpose of vindicating my Sermon”,  
 and that “ all my Arguments from Expediency and In-  
 “ expediency might be spared where necessary Duty is  
 “ asserted on both Sides, for *Necessity* must always take  
 “ Place of *Expediency*”. *Append. p. 48.* Thus he thinks  
 to *clear his Hands* of all these Arguments at once. But  
 how came this Gentleman to *dream* that my chief Design  
 in writing was to *Vindicate my Sermon*? I am sure I  
 never tho't the Sermon, or my own Credit considered  
 as the Author of it, worth half the Pains I have taken in  
 this Controversy: But I tho't your Conduct in separat-  
 ing from us *sinful*, and very *destructive* to the Cause of  
 Christianity; and I should be unworthy of the Charac-  
 ter of a Minister, or even of a Disciple of Christ, if I  
 was not willing to *spend and be spent* in his Cause. And  
 besides, Why should Mr. *Wetmore* think it foreign even  
 to the Purpose of vindicating my Sermon, for me to  
 use Arguments drawn from the Inexpediency of Con-  
 formity; when he himself in the Remarks he published  
 upon that very Sermon, led me into this Method? For  
 he then said it was *proper* for him “ to consider the  
 Force of my Objections [contained in that Sermon] as  
 “ they might be intended, 1. against the Safety or *Law-*  
 “ *fulness* of the Communion of the Church, --- 2. against  
 “ the *Expediency*, or 3. against the *Necessity* of con-  
 U “ forming”



“forming” †. Thus you see I did but follow him in the very Path he had taken; but as it happened, this led me to say some Things which he found himself unable to answer, and therefore to get rid of them at once, he taxes me with “rambling into new Topicks of Dispute, and spending myself in Preachments, to affect the Minds of ignorant People”, and finally (for Want of any Thing else to say) tells you the Arguments are “foreign to the Purpose of vindicating my Sermon”, tho’ he could not pretend that they were not proper to the Purpose of condemning your Practice.

I readily allow that “*Necessity* must always take Place of *Expediency*”: But then his Pleading this in the Case, is in Effect allowing that Conformity to the Church of *England*, is, in the Circumstances of this Country, so very *inexpedient*, that nothing short of *Necessity* will justify any Person in it. And I suppose there is not a Man of Sense among you, but that (if he believes what I have said, and what Mr. *Wetmore* in Effect grants, of the *Inexpediency* of conforming) will think it requires vastly stronger Evidence than my Antagonists have been able to produce, of the *Necessity* of it, to justify any Man in taking this Step.

Thus you see, my Brethren, that, as this Branch of the Controversy now stands, nothing can justify your Conduct in separating from us, as you have done, but *full Evidence* that it was absolutely *necessary* for you to do so; or that you could in no other Way obtain the Favour of God and eternal Salvation. Now if you had *clear* and *full Evidence* of this, I own you did right in separating from us: But if you had not such Evidence of this *Necessity*, Mr. *Wetmore* instead of vindicating your Conduct, has as good as owned that you did wrong in forsaking our Communion, and therefore ought to return to it. The Matter being bro’t to *this Issue* between Mr. *Wetmore* and me, it remains that you should ask your own Consciences, whether you forsook us upon *full Evidence* that it was *absolutely necessary* for



you to do so ; and that you continue in, or renounce your Separation, according to the Answer your Consciences severally give to this Question.

II. You will observe, that Mr. *Beach* is not really vindicating *your* Cause but *his own*, which he represents as being very *different* from yours. I suppose some of you have made this Observation before me, and I take this to be one Reason why this Piece is so much less applauded among you, than Mr. *Beach's* Productions used to be. Mr. *Beach* seems at first willing to imbarke on the same Bottom with you ; but, whatever the Reason of it is, he attempts to give you the Slip at last. When he comes to “ the Conclusion of the whole Matter” (p. 44.) it seems he was sensible he had made but a *weak* Defence, or at least did not care to trust his *own Cause* upon the Strength of what he had said in Vindication of *your's*. He is so unkind as to forsake you in your Distress, and a Distress which he was the Instrument of bringing some of you into ; and, that he may save himself whatever becomes of you, he now cries out, “ *for my own Part, I never was one of them, tho' a Dissenter from the Church of England----. And as to those who were once of them, but now have joined in Communion with the Church of England*” &c ; thus he distinguishes *his own Cause* from *your's*, and designs to swim tho' you sink. This is so inconsistent with the Character he had assumed, and the Friendship he had professed, that I can scarce think any Thing but *Necessity* would have driven him to it : Especially when I call to Mind how much he formerly resented a distant Hint of his not having been *one of us* before he declared for the Church of England. What I refer to is this,

The late Mr. *Dickinson*, in a Reply he made to Mr. *Beach* some Years ago, put in his Title Page that Text I *John* ii, 19. *They went out from us, but they were not of us* &c ; and Mr. *Beach* discovered his Resentment in these Words, “ When I first cast my Eye upon your Title Page, I concluded that (if Beginnings are omi-  
“ nous)



“ nous) I might depend upon it, that a Vein of Cenforiousness ran thro’ your whole Performance ; for you begin with *railing* in Scripture Phrase, and apply to me 1 *John* ii. 19” ‡. But now, that this, which as he observes, “ is a Description of the *Antichrists* and *Hereticks* of those Times”, may not agree to Mr. *Beach*, I will for once do him the *friendly Office* of defending him against himself, by shewing that he was *one of us*. The Facts which prove this, as I am informed, stand thus ; His Parents were Members of one of our Churches, and dedicated him to God by Baptism in his Infancy ; when he came to Years of Discretion he publicly recognized his Baptifmal Engagements, and by his own explicit and solemn Act joined himself to one of our Churches as a Member in full Communion. He was afterwards introduced into the Ministry, by Ordination performed by a Number of *our* Ministers : He took the Pastoral Charge of a Church *united to us*, in Faith, Worship and Government : He had the *Right Hand of Fellowship* given him, in the Name of the Ministers and Churches assembled in Council at his Ordination, by which they publickly owned him as *one of us* ; And he received it in this Sense ; if the most solemn and public Actions have any Significancy, or are allowed to express Men’s Sentiments. After all which, I confess, I know no Way in which Mr. *Beach* can make it out that *he never was one of us*, unless he will say that he was not sincere in these Transactions, but intended to impose on God and Man in his covenanting with both.

But further, the Cause as he pleaded it before he thus attempted to separate his Interest from yours, is what a great Part of you don’t esteem yourselves at all concerned in, and care nothing about. Mr. *Beach*’s Vindication is built on Principles peculiar to the *High-flyers*, and Dr. *Johnson* (tho’ he sometimes affects the Character of a moderate, Catholic Man) *surprizingly* joins with him in this Scheme. The most judicious Part both of the Clergy and Laity, of those called moderate

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‡ *Beach’s Appeal*, p. 3.



or *Low-churchmen*, care no more than I do for an Uninterrupted Succession in a Line of Bishops from the Apostles, and have the same Apprehensions both with Regard to the Necessity of the Thing, and the Evidence of the Fact, as I have; some Proof of which has been offered in the foregoing Pages. And you will not be offended at my publishing it, that I am well assured a great Part of you are in this Way of thinking. You forsook our Communion, not upon the Foot of *Necessity*; not because you tho't our Ministry and Ordinances null and invalid (I know many of you heartily *detest* the uncharitable Notion :) But you did it on Considerations of *Expediency*; or because you tho't it was, in your Circumstances, a *Change for the Better*, and so a *prudent* and *reasonable* Thing. Now all of you whose Consciences testify that you acted on these Principles, ought to observe, that these learned Advocates of the Professors of the Church of *England* unitedly give up *your* Cause as incapable of any rational Defence; and not a Man of them has a Word to say in *your* Favour. They indeed undertake to justify those that join with them in their beloved High-church Scheme; but as for the Rest of you, who have too much Sense to embrace that absurd Set of Principles, you are, after all the Gentlemen have said, left under the Charge of having acted an *unnecessary*, an *imprudent*, and a very *sinful* Part in forsaking us. And your being thus *deserted* and given up by your own Advocates, will, I hope, be a Means of bringing you to that serious Consideration which by the Blessing of God may issue in your returning to our Communion.

III. You will I trust observe, how far Mr. *Beach* and Company are from being able to justify those of you whose Cause they have expressly undertaken, and for whom they have exerted themselves to the utmost of their Power. I know there are a Number of you, who professedly adhere to those *rigid* and *uncatholick* Principles Mr. *Beach* has advanced; I own that my Antagonists have directly undertaken to vindicate *your* Cause; and



and I have no Disposition to speak contemptibly of them or their Performance. I will not say as Mr. *Beach* does, "did ever the groaning Mountains bring forth a more ridiculous Mouse;" but will own that their Vindication is, on the whole, as good as your Cause will well admit of. And yet, if you seriously consider what has been said, I can't but think you will find that your Cause is not justified. You will, I am perswaded, find on comparing Things, that there is *not half the Evidence* you expected, either that the Gospel has made an *uninterrupted Succession* in the *Episcopal Line* necessary to the Validity of Christian Administrations, or that Providence has kept up such a Succession in the Church. Your own Consciences will I hope suggest the destructive Tendency of Mr. *Beach's* Principles on this Head, both to the Cause of Christianity, and to your own Peace and Comfort in attending the Ordinances of the Gospel. I am very sure you must be convinced, if with unprejudiced Minds you consider what has been offered, that whatever others have done, you yourselves never saw with your own Eyes any clear, positive and satisfactory Evidence that the Episcopal Line from the present Bishop of *London* to the Apostles, is entire and unbroken; and consequently that you can but *guess* at it; or depend on others who may deceive you. And is it possible for you to be willing to venture your immortal Souls upon such an uncertain Foundation? Are the Favour of God and eternal Life such very *Trifles*, that you can be content to have no Title to them, or Hopes of enjoying them, but what are built on a *mere Conjecture* of your own, or on an *implicit Faith* in a weak, fallible Man, one that may be deceived himself, or to serve his temporal Interest, may designedly impose upon you? Or can you by any Means persuade yourselves that the Gospel has left Things at this *dreadful Uncertainty*; that a most compassionate Saviour has made no better Provision than this, for the present Comfort and eternal Happiness of his People? Indeed, my Brethren, if you entertain such *unworthy* Thoughts as these of

Christ



Christ and his Gospel, I fear you will before long, go one Step further, and entirely disclaim and reject them both.

But, if after all, you think an Uninterrupted Succession in the Ministry necessary, yet even this is far from justifying you in separating from us ; for you see there is a much fairer Probability of finding it in the Line of Presbyters, than in a Line of Bishops, considered as an Order superior to them by Divine Right. I don't at all scruple to say, that on the best View I can obtain of the Matter, the Probability is ten to one greater on our Side, than on your's. And, notwithstanding the many *confident* Assertions of your Clergy to the contrary, you now have Proof before your own Eyes, that *Presbyterian* and not *Lay-Ordination* was the *original* Practice of this Country ; and even that this Practice is older than the Platform itself.

IV. In the last Place, you cannot well avoid making this further Observation on the Controversy as it now stands, *viz.* That if your Separation from us is not *certainly Right*, it is *certainly Wrong*. Some of you have said to me, When such Men as Mr. *Beach* and you differ so widely, and dispute so much, how shall we, ignorant and unlearned Men, know which is Right or which is Wrong, or which Way we ought to take ? This Question has been asked with such an Appearance of Sincerity, and such a Degree of Concern, as have raised my Compassion for you. Now I apprehend an *easy* and *satisfactory* Answer may be given to it from what has been said. If you are doubtful whether you did Right in separating from us, that very Doubt is enough to convince you that you did Wrong. Perhaps it will be more satisfactory to you to have this Declaration from Dr. *Johnson's* Pen, than from mine, I will therefore set down his very Words, † “ It is a dreadful  
“ Thing (says the Dr.) to break the publick Peace of a  
“ Church or Government, and *nothing can excuse it but*  
“ a clear Conviction that what we divide on the Account

† Second Letter to diss. Parisbioners, p. 41.

“ OF



“ of, is *utterly unlawful, evidently sinful*” Every Man is undeniably under some Obligation to the Church of which he is a Member, and it is schismatical and sinful for him *unreasonably* to rend himself from the Body of which he is a Member : Now he does this *unreasonably* who leaves that which for ought he knows is Right, for the Sake of that which for ought he knows is Wrong ; and therefore if a Man be doubtful whether he ought to separate, it is certain that he ought not.

This duly considered might convince our Separatists both upon the *New-Light* and *Episcopal* Scheme ; especially if they would add to it the Consideration of the *fatal Consequences* of the Schisms they have made in the Country, and the Destruction of Religion they are so dreadfully chargeable with, from which *neither of them* can be acquitted before God or Man. But as my Business at present is with the latter of these, such who have gone into the Episcopal Separation, I shall confine my Discourse to them.

You cannot be insensible, my Brethren, that there are many very hurtful Consequences, flowing from Divisions and Separations among professed Christians ; too many to be described or so much as named, in the little Room I have now left. Yet, many and awful as they are, you have Reason to fear that the Guilt of them will fall upon your Heads. Consider I beseech you how dreadful your Case will be, if a righteous God, when he makes Inquisition for Blood, shall find the Blood of Souls, and even the Blood of Religion itself in your Skirts. You will have Reason to fear that this will be the Case, if you find that serious and practical Religion declines in the Country, in Proportion as the Church of *England* gains Ground ; for if our People grow more careless of Religion, more Profane, Wicked and Debauched than they were before you set up a Separation, or probably would have been had there never been any Episcopal Assemblies in the Country, you ought at least to suspect that your loose Principles and Practices have infected them ; and that your having no Discipline of  
your



your own, and so readily receiving those whom we have censured, is one Thing that encourages and hardens Men in Sin to their eternal Ruin.

But finally, let me intreat you to consider with that Seriousness which the Importance of the Affair requires, how much your Separation has prevented, and does still prevent, the Propagation of the Gospel in the other Colonies, and among the Heathen bordering upon or intermixed with them. In the latest List I find seventeen Missionaries, one Catechist and two School-masters employed by the Society in *New-England*, exclusive of those in *Rhode-Island* Government. The standing Salary paid these Gentlemen out of the Society's Treasury, besides Gratuities, Books &c. amounts to 875 l. sterling. This Money, if there was no Episcopal Separation among us, would be laid out in sending Ministers to preach the Gospel to such unhappy People as are now perishing for lack of Vision. Of this Number are a considerable Part of the *British* Colonies on this Continent, and in the *West-India* Islands, and the miserable *Negroes* belonging to them, computed at three or four hundred thousand Souls; and of this Number likewise are the numerous Nations of *Indians* bordering on us. Here now is Room enough for the Society to employ all their Income, were it ten Times so large as it is, to very good Purpose, in the Way of propagating the Gospel among those who, if neglected by the Society, as they have hitherto been for your Sakes, will in all human Probability spend their Days, some of them in absolute Ignorance of the Gospel, and the rest in a tho'tless Disregard to it, and so all of them perish forever.

Now, let your own Consciences answer such plain Questions as these, Is it not next to an absolute Certainty, that if the Money the Society have laid out in supporting your Separation, had been spent in sending the Gospel to these unhappy People, the Redeemer's visible Kingdom would have been enlarged, and the salutary Design of his Death promoted? Would not the Effect have been that

W

many



many precious and immortal Souls, such Souls for which the Son of God shed his Blood, would have been eternally saved, which now in all Probability will perish forever? Have not you been the *criminal Instruments* of preventing the Enlargement of Christ's Kingdom, and the Salvation of so many who have Souls as precious as your own, by importuning or encouraging the Society to divert the publick Charity they have the Direction of, from these *unhappy* Creatures, whom they themselves have formerly acknowledged as "the more immediate Charge of the Society in it's primary Institution" \*. Inquire once more, and listen to the Answer your own Consciences give, What Necessity was there of your acting this Part? Why did you join in requesting the Society to turn away their Charity from this People, or why did you so much as consent to receive that Help from them, which others had so much more Right to, and so much more Need of? Could not you have heard the Gospel preached, enjoyed the Ordinances instituted, and obtained the Salvation offered, without receiving this Help from the Society, which so many others, and they such as it was originally intended for, are perishing for Want of? Was it not possible that both you and those miserable Creatures should have been saved, and have rejoiced together in the Day of the Lord Jesus? What but your separating from us, and engaging the Society in the *Party Design* of supporting your Separation prevented this? And if you have been the *criminal Means* of preventing their Salvation, have you not Reason to fear that you shall eternally share with them in that awful Ruin you have been the Means of plunging them into?

I write these Things with Sentiments of Benevolence and Compassion to you, as well as to them. Neither Difference in Opinion, nor the ungenerous and unchristian Treatment I have met with from you or your Advocates, shall prevent my bearing Good-Will to you, and them ;

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\* *Abstr.* 1715. p. 31.



and labouring in the Station Divine Providence has assigned me, to promote your best Interests, even tho' *for my Love* you should prove *my Adversaries*. And now, that the Purposes of Divine Grace toward a perishing World may have their most extensive Accomplishment ; That the Promises made to the Redeemer, may be fulfilled in their utmost Latitude and greatest Glory ; That the Gentiles may see the Salvation of God, and all Israel be saved ; and that you and I with the redeemed World may eternally rejoice together in the Presence and Enjoyment of God ; as they are the Ends proposed in this Discourse, so they shall be the Prayer of

*Your real Friend*

*and hearty Well-Wisher,*

N. Hobart.

APPENDIX





# APPENDIX.

By Mr. *Dickinson*.

Rev. Sir,

**M**R. *Wetmore* has been a little too free with my Character upon the Account of two Things, which you published in your *serious Address*. — The first is, what you mention concerning a Number of People in this Place, who turned to the Church, because of my Reading the Scriptures in Publick. And the other is, what you relate of his Saying, that he had rather joyn with the *Jews* in their Worship, than with us. But as to the first of these Cases, it was a Matter that you, (as well as the whole Association of this County,) was personally acquainted with. And therefore if you have wronged the good People, you can't expect we shall be satisfied, until you have confessed your Fault, and asked Forgiveness in the most publick Manner. And as to the latter, I never advised you, (as I remember) nor ever made the least Motion to you, directly, or indirectly, to publish that Affair. How then could he say that I was your Voucher? As you never asked my Assistance; so I am sure, I never had the least Inclination to intermeddle in this Controversy; for I knew *that the Man that would touch them, must be fenced with Iron*. But however, as he has forced me into it, I must get out of it as well as I can. He expresses himself in these Words; (*Appen. to Mr. Beach's Address p. 49.*) “ By Conversation with  
“ these Men thus Scandalized, I find them to have made  
“ such Improvement, since they have come over to the  
“ Church; that they are now Men of good Sense, and  
“ understand Religion so well, as to give this Reason for  
“ their being offended at Mr. *Dickinson's* Conduct; viz.  
“ that he took upon him to innovate in Matters relating  
“ to



“ to the publick Service — attempting and forcing this  
 “ Alteration, in the Face of their Service — And —  
 “ indicated his Claim to arbitrary Power. And was such  
 “ an Usurpation upon the People’s Liberty, and Co-  
 “ partnership in the Power of governing, that they justly  
 “ esteemed it a Step to *Popery*; and could not tell how  
 “ fast his arbitrary Proceeding, and innovating Inclina-  
 “ tion, might carry him thither.”

A grievous Charge this! Of Slandering and of having an Inclination to Popery and arbitrary Power! But Mr. *Wetmore* does not tell us, how long the People had been learning at Church, before they had made such great Improvement. Nor does he tell us, that they all have been so tractable as to be able to give this Reason for their Conduct, notwithstanding the Pains, that he and his Brethren have taken with them. But some of them according to his Account, (though he does not tell us what their Proportion is to the rest,) have made such Improvement, that they are now able to give such a Reason, for their being dissatisfied with my reading the Scriptures, as they never thought of while they were with us; and I believe never would if they had not been greatly assisted. For I was so far from introducing the Practice of reading the Scriptures in publick, in an arbitrary Manner, that I did it with the Consent, and at the Desire of about two thirds of the Communicants of the Church, who signified their Minds by a Vote, at a Meeting appointed for that End; the Form of which Vote was drawn by a Gentleman, who is one of the principal Men in this Government, as well as of our Church. And in the Complaint, which those Persons of whom he speaks, brought against it to the Association, they did not suggest any thing like this, that I had introduced it in an arbitrary Manner, without the Consent of the Majority of the People: But said, that “ my reading the Scriptures in  
 “ Publick, was against their Consciences and a Burden  
 “ they could not bear.” As may be seen in a Copy of it which I have now by me.

Bus



But notwithstanding this, that I had the Concurrence of by far the Major Part of the People; yet I was greatly concerned for those who were dissatisfied, and took the best Advice that I could obtain. I submitted the Case to the Association of this County, (at *Greenfield*, August 15, 1732. Ten Ministers being present,) who endeavoured to satisfy the People, that their Objections were unreasonable. And afterwards the Association declared their Opinion more fully, upon a Complaint or Remonstrance that was laid before them, (at *Fairfield*, August 21, 1733.) Signed by Eighteen of the dissatisfied People, and resolved; that the People had no Cause of Complaint, against the Practice of reading the Scriptures; much less of withdrawing from our Communion upon that Account; and judged it would not be expedient for me to desist, notwithstanding the Dissatisfaction of such a Number of the People: As may be seen in the publick Records of the Association.

And besides this, I had the Opinion of the Ministers of *Boston*; agreeable to the above Resolve, in a Letter from the Rev. Mr. *Foxcroft*, dated *July 23, 1733*.

And Dr. *Johnson* himself, after he had enquired into the Circumstances of this Case, encouraged me by all Means to continue in the Practice, notwithstanding the Consequences. He told me it was a glorious Cause that I was suffering for; the Cause of the Bible! Upon the whole then I hope I shall not quite loose my Character as a Protestant and a Friend to civil and religious Liberty, notwithstanding the Violence of the Attack.

But perhaps it may be objected, how could the Ministers of this Association advise me to continue in this Practice, and yet not generally do it themselves? I answer though as to my self, I am fully perswaded that it is an indispensable Duty, and therefore am willing to leave the Event with him, *who holds the Stars in his Right Hand*: Yet others who ben't fully convinced of this, have Reason to dread the Consequences; considering the restless Endeavours of the Missionaries to increase  
their



their Number. For though they themselves read some Lessons out of the Holy Scriptures, and likewise out of the Apocrypha, as a Part of publick Worship : A great Part of which (*Apocrypha*;) is no more proper to be read in Publick, than the Stories of Frier *Bacon*, and Dr. *Faustus* ; and has nothing to recommend it but the Infallibility of the Church of Rome, *the Mother of Harlots and Abominations* : Yet there is no Popery in all this ! But when we read the whole Word of God distinctly, and in Course, without any Mixture of *Toby* and his Dog, the Idol Bell and Dragon, the amorous Devil and conjuring Angel ; then it may justly be esteemed a step to Popery ! Bishop *Bramhall* was of Opinion, (as I find his Words cited,) “ That the promiscuous Licence, “ which Protestants give to all Sorts, to read and interpret the Scripture, is more prejudicial, nay pernicious, “ than the over rigorous Restraint of the *Romanists*.” Unless these Gentlemen act upon the same Principle, I can’t tell who can account for their Conduct. But I hope they have some other Motive than *Demetrius*, and his fellow Labourers had, to cry up the Establishment, and persecute St. *Paul* a dissenting Minister, by representing him, (I don’t say as a *Papist*,) but as a *vile Person*, the *very Author of Scandal* for strictly adhering to the Word of God, and opposing their unscriptural Inventions, and Ceremonies which they esteemed both decent and profitable.

But I am of Opinion, that the Honourable Society when they come to understand the Case, will not think as Mr. *Wetmore* does, that it is an Argument their People have made Improvement in christian Knowledge ; that they dare assert, my Reading the Scriptures in Publick, and the Manner in which I introduced it, may justly be esteemed a Step to Popery. Or that he himself discovers his Wisdom, in declaring in Print his Approbation, and in appearing in the Defence of such an Assertion. Or that he and his Brethren have been well employed, in countenancing People in their Opposition to the publick Reading.



Reading the Scriptures, under a Pretence of rescuing them from Popery.

Or lastly, that they have been well informed by their Missionaries, when they have been told the Number of their Converts, but have not been told, that they were obliged to sacrifice the Honour of the Bible to increase their Party. Is this agreeable to the Design of their Mission? Is this propagating the Gospel? In a Word, when a Person has *Tryal of cruel Mockings, and has his Name cast out as Evil*, for keeping a good Conscience, and doing his Duty; it is as really Persecution as if he *suffered Bonds and Imprisonments*. And I am willing to refer it to the Honourable Society, and all reasonable Men to judge between us, whether this don't evidently appear to be my Case.

But Mr. *Wetmore* goes on, and intimates (*ibid.*) that you have grossly, (through my Means,) misrepresented his Meaning, when he said, he had rather joyn with the *Jews* in their Worship, than to joyn with us. As to this Case, there are Letters which have passed between him, and me, upon this Head, since the publishing of your Book; which I would now insert *verbatim*, were they not too lengthy, that the Publick might see, how far we agree, in our Accounts of that Matter. In his Letter he don't deny, but that he did own before a considerable Number of People, (in our Meeting House upon a publick Occasion,) that he had told me, he had rather joyn with the *Jews* in their Worship, than to joyn with us. And that he offered to give his Reasons before all the People; but that I refused to hear them. He owns that the Discourse began the Evening before, at a private House, by my asking him why he would not advise their People, when they had no Minister of their own, to occasionally attend upon publick Worship among us. And that his Reply was, that he did not think it would be lawful for him to do it, and therefore he would not advise others. He owns, that he endeavoured to justify his Opinion, (that it would be more lawful to joyn with the *Jews* in their Worship,



ship, than to joyn in Worship, with the *Presbyterians*,) from St. *Paul*'s being present in the *Jewish* Synagogues; and the Lawfulness (as he argued,) of joyning with the *Heathen* in Acts of natural Worship. If this be not a true Representation of his Concessions, he may publish both the Letters, and then the Truth will appear.

But he thinks I misconstrued his Words, for he says I told him " That I always esteemed him to be somewhat  
 " high in his Principles, but did not think he had rather  
 " be a *Jew*, than a *Presbyterian*. And that he replied,  
 " he had no Inclination to be either." And he seems to suspect, I informed you, that he had an Inclination to be a *Jew*. And that I might do him Justice in this Case, he has prepared the Form of a Certificate, for me to publish in these Words, *viz.* " For removing any Misconstructi-  
 " ons, from the Passage in Mr. *Hobart*'s Address, &c.  
 " Whereas that Passage was inserted by Information —  
 " Justice required — to certify, that the Words were  
 " spoken in respect to imitating St. *Paul*, and joyning in  
 " the *Jewish* Worship only in such Things, as implied  
 " no Disbelief of Christianity." And he was so good as to encourage me, that upon my publishing this he would be tender of my Character. But I believe, I can convince him, his Suspicions are groundless. For the true and obvious Meaning of my Words, was; that I understood by his Discourse, he had a greater Esteem, and Affection for the Religion of the present *Jews*, than for the Religion of the *Presbyterians*: And not as he suggested, that he had an Inclination to be a *Jew*. And though I was not so provident as to comply with his Proposal, and thereby prevent the fatal Blow: Yet I am willing even now, to do him all the Justice he can desire.

But as I don't (very well) know, how to fill up the *Lacunæ* in his Form, (some of the Sentences being imperfect;) I am willing to give a Certificate, much to the same Purpose, and more full and express, in these or the like Words; *viz.* " Whereas the Rev. Mr. *James*  
 " *Wetmore*, Missionary from the Society for propagating  
 X the



“ the Gospel in such Places, where the People are in  
 “ danger of *Popery*, or *Infidelity*, did declare in a very free  
 “ and open Manner, that he had rather joyn with the  
 “ *Jews* in their Worship, than to joyn in Worship with  
 “ the *Presbyterians*; and did endeavour to prove by many  
 “ Words, that it would be more lawful to do so: These  
 “ may certify that the said Mr. *Wetmore* did endeavour  
 “ to justify his Opinion; by pleading the Example of  
 “ St. *Paul*, whom he supposed he should imitate, as he  
 “ was sundry Times present in the *Jewish* Synagogues,  
 “ but never so much as once, in any of the *Presbyterian*  
 “ Churches in *New-England*. And I am perswaded he  
 “ is a Person of so much Sense, and has made such Improve-  
 “ ment, since he went over to the Church; that he could  
 “ not mean, he had any Design to renounce his christian  
 “ Profession, and part with the Privileges which he has  
 “ obtained by it, for any Advantage he could propose  
 “ to himself, by his Compliance with Circumcision or  
 “ any *Jewish* Rite, which implies a Disbelief of Chri-  
 “ stianity. But he adds further, (*ibid.*)

“ I could give some Passages in a Confession some  
 “ Years ago, sent me from *Springfield*, which had been  
 “ publicly read in several Meetings, the publishing of  
 “ which, with the Subscriber's Name in Capitals, would  
 “ bring a Blush upon Mr. *Hobart's* Voucher, for some  
 “ of his Tattling Stories, but I reserve them in *petto*,  
 “ against a proper Occasion.”

That the Confession which he speaks of was read  
 in several Meetings is what I never heard, from any  
 Person but from him. And I believe the good Gentle-  
 man is mistaken, for I can't understand for what Reason  
 it should be made a Part of their publick Worship. This  
 would have been in my Opinion, as great a Step to *Popery*  
 as my reading the Scriptures in Publick.

The Case which he refers to was this, when I was at  
 College above thirty Years ago, I mentioned something  
 which I had heard, (and at the same Time told my Au-  
 thor,) of a certain worthy Gentleman, that was of a  
 scandalous



scandalous Nature, and indeed very injurious, and it was done through too much Anger and Resentment. And afterwards by the Advice of two of the Ministers of *Springfield*, I acknowledged my Fault to the Gentleman, so far as I was concerned in spreading the Matter, and gave him a Confession in writing. But then Mr. *Wetmore* knows, that it never was designed, nor expected, that I should acknowledge myself to be the original Author of what was injurious to the Gentleman's Character : for he knows that the Person that I mentioned as my Author, did own that he informed me of it. When the People of this Place were about to chuse me for their Minister, Mr. *Wetmore* had so great a Regard for the Protestant Religion, that he represented this Affair in such a Manner, that I was obliged to produce a Certificate from the Ministers concerned in making up that Matter of Difference ; that the People might know the true State of the Case ; and they were intirely satisfied : so that it is as much News to them now as if they had never heard of it before. And he himself, has seen that very Representation of the Case, as it was attested by the Ministers : And he says in his Letter to me, " that the Thing would not have been worth reviving," if it had not been for some other Things that moved him to it. He appears at present to be very angry, and therefore not capable of serious Reflection, and Consideration, but when his Passions subside, and he comes to be more calm, I charitably believe, he will be sorry he treated me in such a Manner, without the least Cause or Provocation. But as he imagines, it is such a scandalous Thing for a Person to confess any Fault ; I have but little Reason to expect he will give me that Satisfaction, that the Gospel requires as an Evidence of a sincere Repentance. But however I am so far from indulging any Inclination to make Reprisals, by personal Invectives, and Reproaches, that I can now freely say, (what I have often said,) I believe he has as much Honesty as any of his Brethren (that I have been acquainted with.) And if they could have been content, to  
have



have suffered him to go through with the Controversy, (which you and he were in) I guess their Cause would have been so far from suffering by his want of Capacity to manage it, that he would have made a much better Figure than they do all together.

But if they thought it necessary to take the Controversy out of his Hands, I am sure, I am not so sanguine, as to think it necessary for me to intermeddle in it, and therefore am willing to leave it where it is, and shall add nothing further, but that I am your

*Fellow-Sufferer,*

*and humble Servant*

NORWALK, Jun.  
4. 1750.

*Moses Dickinson.*



# CONTENTS.

**A**N INTRODUCTION, containing Remarks on the Author's numerous *Antagonists*, and the groundless *Prejudices* they endeavour to raise against him and his way of Writing. Page 1, &c.

HISTORICAL Remarks, touching the *Rise* of this Controversy, and of the *Episcopal* Separation in *New-England*. 24

The Claim to a legal *Establishment* of the *Episcopal* Church in the Plantations, founded on the *Act* of UNION between *England* and *Scotland*, examined and refuted. 31

The Argument from the *Bp. of London's* COMMISSION answered. 37

A Remonstrance against some *Misrepresentations* made of the *Ministers* of *New-England*. 38

SUCCESSION in the *Ministry*, as contended for by the Author's *Antagonists*, stated and argued upon. 41. As to its *Nature*, 43. As to its *Necessity*, 46. As to the Evidence of the *Fact*, 58. And the *Consequences* of admitting its *Necessity*, when the *Fact* can't be *prov'd*. 79

*Presbyterian* Succession much more probable to have been kept *intire* and *uninterrupted*, than *Episcopal*. 82

A fairer Probability of the *New-England* Ministers being within the *Line* of Succession from the *Apostles*, than the *Episcopal* Missionaries here. 86

Mr. *Neal* vindicated against the Charge of *Falshood*. 103

The DISCIPLINE practised in the Church of *England*, and that pretended to in the *Episcopal* Churches in *New-England* considered. 104

Some Reflections on the *New-English* Discipline, animadverted upon. 111

The *Decay* of practical Religion, in Proportion as the *Episcopal* Separation increases, not to be wonder'd at. 112

That Branch of the present Controversy, which relates to the SOCIETY for propagating the Gospel, &c. reviewed at large. 113

An Account of the *Rise* and *Intention* of the Society's Charter. 114

A Confirmation of this Account from their Anniversary Sermons and publick Papers. 116

The CONDUCT of the Society compar'd with the Design of their Charter, and their own professed *Intentions*. 126

Prevalent *Bigotry* in the latter End of Queen ANNE's Reign, probably an Occasion of the Society's diverting from their original generous Intention, to the low *Party-Design* of converting *Presbyterians* to the Church of *England*. 128

Dr.



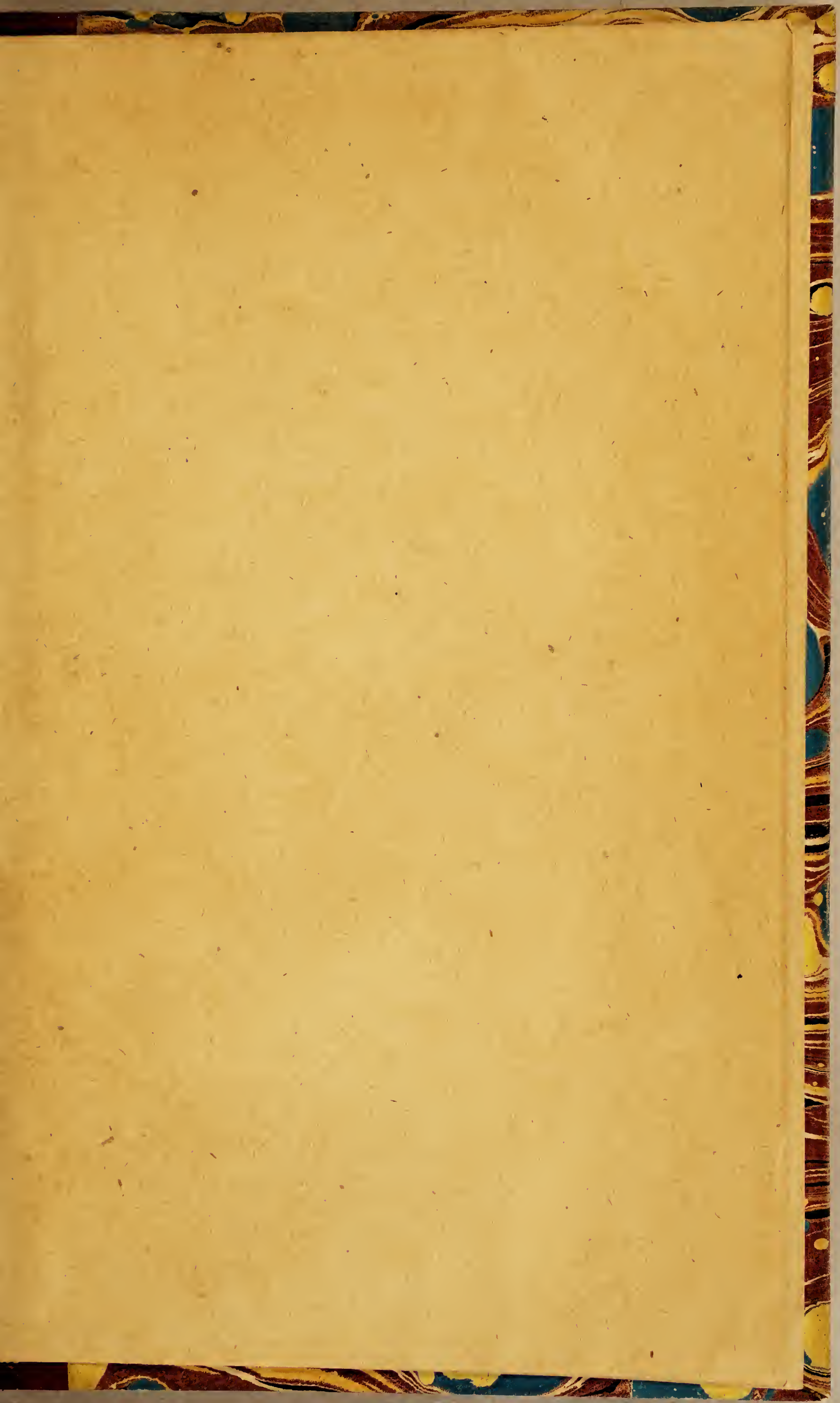
r. Cutler and Company's going for Orders, a most <i>fatal</i> Inci-	
hit.	
(The PLEAS made in Defence of the Society's erecting and support-	128
ing such <i>numerous Missions</i> in <i>New England</i> , reply'd to.	
Instances of MISREPRESENTATIONS, whereby the Society have	132
been imposed upon, in the <i>Accounts</i> they have published as coming	
from their <i>Missionaries</i> in <i>New England</i> .	146
The CONCLUSION, consisting of important Observations and Per-	
suasives on the whole.	152
An APPENDIX by Mr. <i>Moses Dickinson</i> , in Vindication of himself	
against Mr. <i>W——</i> 's injurious Aspersions.	

F I N I S.

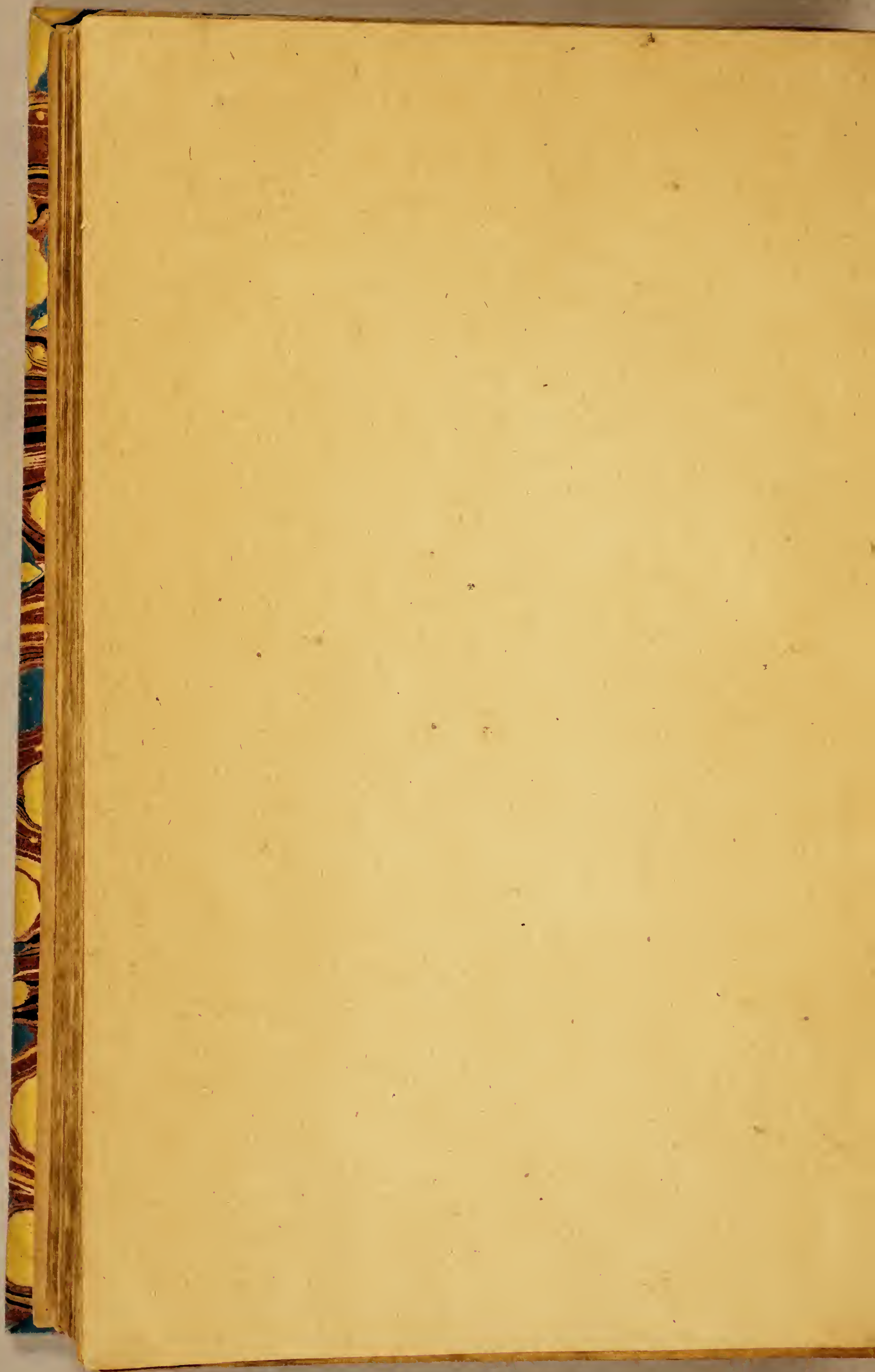
## E R R A T A.

Page 47. line 16. read, *officiate*.  
 P. 57. l. 11. r. *renouncing*  
 P. 75. l. ult. r. *eighth*  
 P. 92. l. 29. r. *introduce*  
 P. 95. l. 33. r. *filing*  
 P. 125. l. 3. r. *absolutely*  
 P. 127. l. 13. r. *they would*  
 Other Mistakes, in *Literals*, are left to the Reader's Candour.











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